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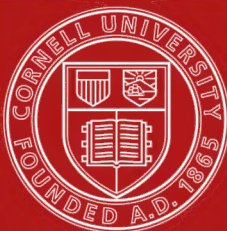


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# CHRONICON ADÆ DE USK

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# CHRONICON ADÆ DE USK

A.D. 1377—1404

EDITED

WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON

BARRISTER-AT-LAW AND ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MSS. IN THE  
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## P R E F A C E .

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By the liberality of the Royal Society of Literature I am enabled to make known an interesting chronicle of English history which has never yet seen the light.

This work has a certain advantage which middle-age chronicles for the most part lack. The writer was not a monk. He was, therefore, unfettered by the bonds of conventual brotherhood, and was not forced to adopt the politics of his house and sink his individuality in the monastic historiographer. Adam of Usk lived in the world ; he was a priest and a lawyer, he pleaded in the courts, spoke in convocation, and sat on commissions ; and, happily, he had vanity enough to think that his personal actions were not unworthy to be recorded among the general history of his time.

The source from which the text is here printed is the Additional MS. 10,104 in the British Museum, a folio volume of 176 leaves. Adam's chronicle occupies only the last twenty-two

leaves of the volume, being intended as a continuation of the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, which precedes it. In fact it is a later addition, written in a hand of the middle, while Higden's work is of the early part, of the fifteenth century. The writer does not give his name in full in any part of the chronicle; though the initial letters which appear in the writ printed on page 47, and the references made in different passages to Usk as the place of his birth, are enough to serve as a clue to the authorship. But, to leave no doubt on this point, Adam, or the scribe, has prefixed to the work some short extracts or sentences on Adam, the father of mankind (including one which refers to Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford), and a note from the prophecy of Merlin on the river Usk, so disposing the sentences that, in one instance, the two words ADAM : USK meet together. Besides these notes is also added a copy of an answer to a letter of Lewis de S. Melano, who became treasurer of Llandaff in 1368, concerning the misfortunes of his church; thus connecting the volume with that diocese. That it belonged to some person or church or monastery in Wales is sufficiently proved by the insertion of Adam's chronicle, and by the character of the marginal references which have been added to the *Polychronicon*. At the foot of the first page of the latter work is roughly sketched by a later hand the shield of arms of Adam of Usk as emblazoned by himself (p. 55): on a field sable, a naked man delving—just such a conceit as our chronicler would adopt from that couplet which was only too well known in the days when John Ball preached how “Adam delved.”



Scattered through his pages are incidental particulars enough to enable us to construct an outline of the first part of Adam's life. He was born at Usk, in Monmouthshire, perhaps about 1360 to 1365, and appears to have been taken under the protection of Edmund Mortimer, who became earl of March in 1360, and who obtained for him a law studentship at Oxford. There he took the doctor's degree in laws (p. 72), and there we find him, in 1387, an "extraordinarius" of canon law. This position, however, did not prevent him joining in the serious riots which took place in the university between the men of the South and the Welsh on the one side and the Northerners on the other; nor even from being a ringleader — a distinction to which he looks back with the indulgent complacency with which an old man is wont to regard the mad frolics of his youth. After leaving Oxford, he pleaded for seven years in the archbishop's court at Canterbury (p. 72), probably from about the year 1390 or a little later. In 1397, as he tells us, he was in daily attendance in Richard's last parliament at Westminster: in what capacity he does not say, but probably in some official position as a lawyer. He next appears at Bristol in company with Thomas Arundel or Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, and following the fortunes of Henry Bolingbroke. When Henry's army advanced north, he accompanied it, and was thus able to intercede for his native place and avert the punishment which Henry threatened for its resistance. He was present at the occupation of Chester, and, after Richard's surrender, must have followed Henry to London. Adam's connection with archbishop Arundel doubtless went far to recommend him

to Henry's notice; but, at the same time, his legal knowledge must have been considerable and enough to justify his appointment to sit on the commission for the deposition of Richard. After his accession Henry did not forget him. In 1400 he appointed him to a prebend in the church of Bangor; and again made use of his legal ability in submitting to him questions as to the obligation to restore to the French the dower of Richard's queen Isabella. Moreover, if we may believe Adam's own words, he was taken into Henry's confidence so far as to be allowed to speak boldly before the king in the same terms as are to be found in the remarkable letter which he wrote to Henry in May, 1401. For, though he does not make the admission, in so many words, there can scarcely be any hesitation in assuming that he was the writer. In this letter is clearly reflected the discontent which was rife among the people in the early years of Henry's reign, and which made that period a continuous scene of revolt and suppression. Wrapped in a cloud of Scriptural quotations, it speaks home-truths which could not but have given offence; although, if the dates be correct, Adam did not suffer immediately for his boldness.

But early in the following year he departs suddenly for Rome; not by his own will, as may be gathered from what follows. Of his journey he gives some interesting particulars. Leaving London on the 19th of February, he passed through Flanders. Thence, following the course of the Rhine to Basel, he crossed into Italy by the Mont St. Gotthard, on the dangers of which pass he is not silent, and reached Bellinzona on the 18th of March. He did not arrive in

Rome till the 5th of April. Here he was well received by the pope, Boniface IX., and was appointed papal chaplain and auditor of the Rota. From this period to the time at which the chronicle breaks off Adam continued in Rome; but that he eventually returned to England appears from the incidental mention (p. 83) of four years as the term of his exile.

Of the various ecclesiastical appointments which were conferred on Adam he probably actually held but few, as those for which he received the papal provision, during his sojourn in Rome, must count for dead letters. Twice he narrowly escaped a bishopric, but his enemies were strong enough to keep him out of both Hereford and St. David's.

In his legal practice he was engaged in one or two important matters. He drew the petition for Dymock's championship at Henry's coronation; and was retained by lord Grey of Ruthin in his famous suit against lord Edward Hastings, and again by lord Morley in his action consequent on his challenge of the earl of Salisbury. From the latter case it appears that a part of a lawyer's fee was a certain amount of scarlet cloth.

That Adam was more superstitious than other men of his day it would be hazardous to assert. But wherever he can introduce a prophecy, with good or indifferent effect, he shows no reluctance, and as a dreamer of dreams he could scarce be surpassed. Add to these weaknesses a certain amount of harmless self-conceit, and we can readily picture the man.

Fortunately, Adam's foibles do not impair the historical value of his chronicle. On the contrary, many of the public

events which he records receive a vividness and reality from his love of introducing himself, and his readiness to tell what he saw with his own eyes—and this in spite of involved sentences and an execrable style.

The early part of the chronicle is an incoherent outline of events from Richard's accession to 1394, meagre and not without anachronisms. This portion Adam himself evidently felt was not all that might be desired, and it is accordingly closed with an apology.

It is not, however, till 1397 that the history is given in any detail, that year beginning with a full account of the proceedings of Richard's last parliament. As pointed out in the notes, this part of the chronicle follows the so-called Monk of Evesham's narrative, the adoption of which by Adam, who was present in the parliament, may be taken as a confirmation of the accuracy of that history. That Adam copied from the monk, and not the monk from Adam, must be conceded, as it is clear from his allusions to the Lollard rising in Henry the fifth's reign and to the death of the dauphin in 1415 (p. 55) that Adam composed his history after that date.

The portion of the chronicle which will attract most attention is that which extends from the date of Henry's invasion to Richard's death. Adam's account of the march of Henry's army and of the events at Chester is full of interest. His appointment to serve on the commission of inquiry for the deposition of Richard gives him an opportunity for letting some light into the old story of John of Gaunt's forged chronicle; and his record of the finding of the com-



mission and his legal quotations are not without historical value. As a Lancastrian, he is bitter enough against Richard; but it is significant that his political feelings do not prevent him from involving one of the Swinfords in a charge of hastening the death of that unfortunate prince. As a trait of Henry's resolute character, his remark to the champion Dymock at his coronation will not be overlooked; compared with which, Richard's lamentations on Adam's visit to see him in the Tower are a curious contrast. In reading the latter passage, one is reminded of a similar scene of lamentation told by Creton in his story of Richard's capture.

With regard to the curious state-paper which has been preserved in this chronicle and by which Henry sought to fortify himself in refusing the restoration of Isabella's dower, under pretext of balancing it against the unpaid ransom of king John of France, we can gather from other sources that its consideration by those to whom it was submitted must have satisfied Henry's wishes. For his envoys were instructed to put forward the claim to the ransom in discussing the question with the French, and thereby succeeded in protracting still further the wearisome negotiations which preceded the restitution of the young queen to her father.

As a Welshman, Adam naturally takes more than ordinary notice of what was passing in Wales. Glendower's uprising, his defeats and victories and ever-recurring raids through the country, the English invasions and border war-



CHRONICON  
ADÆ DE USK.





# CHRONICON

## ADÆ DE USK.

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PREDICTO gracioso Edwardo, in vigilia Natalis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, anno regni sui quinquagesimo secundo, ab hac vita subtracto, ipsius nepos, Ricardus, Edwardi principis Wallie, dicti regis primogeniti, filius, undecim annorum pupillus, infer omnes mortales ac si secundus Apsalon pulcherimus, ei successit, aput Westmonasterium in festo Sancti Kenelmi coronatus.

A.D. 1377.  
f. 155.

Isti Ricardo, regni sui tempore, plura votive inclita ferebantur. Et quia tenere etatis existebat, alii, ipsius et regni curam habentes, lascivias, extorciones, intollerabiles injurias regno irrogare non desistebant. Unde illud accidit monstruosum, ut plebei<sup>1</sup> regni, et potissime Cancie et Essexie, sub misero duce Jac Straw, in regni dominos et regis officarios, hujusmodi injurias et potissime taxacionum et collectarum, ut asserruerunt, sufferre non valentes, in multitudine onerosa<sup>2</sup> insurgendo, Londoniam, in vigilia Corporis Christi, anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> octogesimo primo, venerunt; et magistrum Symonem Sudbyry, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, tunc regis cancellarium, et dominum Robertum Hale, ejus thesaurarium, pluresque alios juxta turrim Londonie decapitarunt; ubi adhuc, in locis decapitacionis dictorum dominorum, in tanti prodigii memoriam, due cruces marmoree eriguntur, in perpetuum durature.

A.D. 1381.  
Jac Straw.

Cancellarii  
et thesaurarii  
decapitacio.

In isto plebeiorum tumultu plures regni magnates quam pluribus regni partibus fuerunt decapitati. Ducis Lancastrie palacium, regni pulcherimum, Savoy nuncupatum, prope Lon-

f. 155 b.

<sup>1</sup> plebei. MS.

<sup>2</sup> onerosa. MS.

A.D. 1381. doniam super Thamisi ripam, quia plebeiis exosi, per ipsos totaliter igne exitit destructum. Ipseque dux, ipsorum metu territus, in Scosiam fugam arripuit. Quibus ad placandum,<sup>1</sup> ipsorumque ferocitatem ad sedandum,<sup>2</sup> rex concessit omnem servilem condicionem, tam in personis quam eorum operis, de regno a cetero extirpari,<sup>3</sup> libertatem penitus concedendam, omnesque incarceratos liberari. Hocque ubique in regni comitatibus publice mandavit et fecit proclamari. O quantus regni desolati tunc vibrabatur luctus! Quia omnes regni nobiliores interficere,<sup>4</sup> ex seipsis regem et dominos erigere, novas leges condere, et breviter tocius insule et ejus superficiem statumque renovare, ymmo verius deturpare, jactabant. Quisque sibi exosum decapitabat, si diciorem spoliabat. Tamen, Deo mediante, dicti eorum ducis in Smythfelde juxta Londoniam, regique capicium non deponentis nec ipsius regis magestatem in aliquo reverentis, in suorum milvorum<sup>5</sup> medio, subtiliter per dominum Wyllelmum Walworth, militem, Londoniensem civem, capite amputato, et subito in gladii mucrone publice erecto et eis ostenso, ipsi plebei penitus territi, subterfugia videlicet querentes, ibidem ipsorum invasivis dimissis armis, ac si hujusmodi tumultus et facinoris immunes, miserabiliter, tanquam vulpes ad foveas, ad propria remearunt. Quos rex et domini insequentes, quosdam post equos trahendo, quosdam gladiis trucidando, quosdam ad furcas suspendendo, quosdam membratim dividendo, ad milia trucidarunt.

Pilius cardinalis.

Isto eodem anno, venit quidam in Angliam dictus Pilius, tituli Sancte<sup>6</sup> Praxedis presbiter cardinalis, ad tractandum cum concilio Anglie, ex parte imperatoris Almanie, regis Boemie, de et super matrimonio inter regem nostrum predictum et dominam Annam, dicti imperatoris sororem, postea ex eo capite Anglie reginam benignissimam, licet sine prole defunctam. Ineundo cardinalis iste, false se fingens legatum a

<sup>1</sup> placendum. MS.

<sup>2</sup> cedandum. MS.

<sup>3</sup> extirpari. MS.

<sup>4</sup> interfecere. MS.

<sup>5</sup> mulvorum. MS.

<sup>6</sup> sancti. MS.

latere esse ac potestatem pape habere, vices papales tunc A.D. 1381. excercuit; me inter cetera notarium tunc, licet inutiliter, in domo fratrum predicacionis Londonie, ubi tunc morabatur, creavit. Infinitam pecuniam sic collegit, et ab Anglia cum eadem pecunia, eodem tractatu matrimonii expedito, ad sui recessit dampnacionem; credens tamen, licet in vanum, facta A.D. 1382. sua hujusmodi per papam ratificari.<sup>1</sup> Post cujus recessum Rex emit dicta domina Anna, per dominum regem magno precio re- sibi uxore- rem. dempta, quia a rege Francie in uxorem affectata, in Angliam et Anglie reginam transmittitur coronanda.

Salamonis juxta proverbium, "Ve regno cujus rex puer est,"<sup>2</sup> ejusdem Ricardi juventutis tempore, plurima infortunia, propter eam causata pariter et contingencia, regnum Anglie non cessarunt perturbare, ut premittitur et inferius plenius notabitur, usque ad magnam ejusdem regni confusionem,<sup>3</sup> ipsiusque Ricardi regis sibi que nimis voluptuose adherencium finalem destruccionem. Inter cetera infortunia, ymmo omnium scelerum sceleratissima, in fide scilicet catholica errorum et heresum, per semina cujusdam magistri Johannis Wycleff, pestifere doctrine velud lollio eandem fidem corrumpentis, Anglia et potissime Londonia et Bristolia extiterunt corrupte. Cujus magistri Johannis, ut Machomdus, discipuli, potentibus et divitibus placabilia, decimarum scilicet et oblacionum retencionem, ac temporalium a clero ablacionem, juvenibusque incontinenciam, meritorias existere predicando, multas clades, insidias, rixas et contenciones et sediciones, adhuc durantes et, ut timeo, usque ad regni confusionem duraturas, nefandissime seminarunt. Unde, in pluribus regni partibus, et precipue Londonia et Bristolia,<sup>4</sup> velud Judei ad Vitulus Oreb. montem Oreb, propter vitulum conflatilem (Exodi xxxij<sup>o</sup>), mutuo in se revertentes, xxij milium de suis miserabilem patientes casum merito doluerunt. Anglici inter se de fide antiqua et nova altercantes omni die sunt in puncto<sup>5</sup> quasi

<sup>1</sup> radificari. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Eccles. x. 16. More correctly, "Væ tibi, terra, cujus rex puer est."

<sup>3</sup> confucionem. MS.

<sup>4</sup> Bristolie. MS.

<sup>5</sup> pincto. MS.

- A.D. 1377. mutuo ruinam et sedicionem inferendi. Et timeo ita finaliter contingere, ut sic prius contingebat, quod plures Londonienses fideles contra dictum ducem Lancastrie, quia dicti magistri Johannis fautorem, ad ejus interfeccionem insurrexerant, ita quod, vix unam naviculam captatam intrans, a prandio ultra
- f. 156. Thamisiā affugiens vivus evasit. Hujusmodi errores et hereses in civitate Londonie in tantum excreverunt, quia hujusmodi occasione rixe et discordia, quod, quando infamati super eisdem coram ordinariis venirent responsuri, populus ad mille, quidam ad acusandum, quidam ad defendendum eosdem, conviciis et rixis confluere solebant, quasi mutuo irruere properantes. Crevit eciam eorum malicia in tantum quod,
- Lollardia. A.D. 1414. tempore secundi parlamenti Henrici regis quinti<sup>1</sup> infrascripti, quod hujusmodi Lollardi ex omni parte regni Londonie congregati proposuerunt se clerum, ad tunc ibidem convocatum, penitus destruxisse. Sed dominus meus Cantuariensis eorum malicie precautus remedia paravit oportuna, ut inferius liquebit.
- A.D. 1386. Propter plurima inoportuna tempora regis Ricardi, ejus juventute causata, solempne parliamentum Westmonasterii fuit celebratum, in quo duodecim regni magnates ad gubernandum regem et regnum, ac ad refrenandum laciviam et excessus sibi famulancium et adulancium, et breviter ad regni negocia remediandum, plena parlamenti provisione, sed, pro dolor!, ad infrascripta tedia, prefecti extiterunt.
- A.D. 1387. Rex hujusmodi perfeccione indignans sue magestatis libertatem debitam per suos ligeos refrenari, ad instigacionem sibi famulancium, propter eorundem turpis lucri suspensionem ob hoc invidencium, usque ad ejusdem regis sicque instigancium pluriumque dictorum prefectorum exterminium, dictos prefectos infestare non cessavit. Ex quo, pro dolor!, quanti dolores et tedia fuerunt insecuta, et presertim de morte illorum nobilium, ducis Glowcestrie et comitis Arundelie, plenius infra liquebit. Ut quid mora, dicti instigantes, ad suffocacionem subitanream dictorum duodecim prefectorum, unum concilium generale in

<sup>1</sup> quarti. MS.

turri Londonie celebrari ordinarunt, in quo dictos xij per A.D. 1387. latentes armatorum insidias, ad idem concilium convocatos, simul et subito perimere proposuerunt. Sed Deus omnipotens dictos xij, de tanta malicia precautos, tam fortiter accedere disposuit, ita ut per industriam militarem eorundem rex et ipsum instigantes perturbati regnum assurgere cum eisdem xij timuerunt; unde pacem, licet fictam, se habere procurarunt. Hoc audito, domina principissa, regis mater, ad hujusmodi tumultum sedandum,<sup>1</sup> nocturno labori non parcens, a Walingforde versus Londoniam, cordis non modica contricione, iter arrepsit. Que Londonie flexis genibus filium suum regem rogavit, sub sua benediccione, se votis adulancium et presertim dictorum instigancium nullatenus inclinare, alias malediccionem suam sibi induxit. Quam rex reverenter erexit, promittens se juxta dictorum xij velle gubernari consilium. Cui dixit mater: "Alias in coronacione tua, fili, gaudebam me tanti nati in regem coronati matrem promeruisse fieri; sed jam doleo quia tui ruinam video imminere, per maledictos adulatores tuos tibi causatam." Tunc rex cum matre sua ad aulam Westmonasterii transsiens, et ibidem in trono regali sedens, eosdem duodecim, licet tamen fecte et dissimulatorie, per matris mediacionem reconciliavit.

Postmodum, comes Oxonie cum litteris regiis ad partes transit Cestrie, et ipsos Cestrienses in multitudine glomerosa et armata pro destruccione dictorum xij secum adduxit. Cujus rei dux Glowcestrie, comes Derbeie, Arundelie, Nottinghamie, et Warwycie, precauți, in glorioso exercitu stipati, ante eorum Cestrensiū excessum ad regem, dictum comitis exercitum, in vigilia Sancti Thome Appostoli, apud Ratcodbruch in comitatu Oxonie, disperserunt; ac dictum comitem Oxonie in fugam sine spe redeundi, quia in partibus transmarinis interiit, propulerunt. Fugerunt eciam tunc a facie eorundem dominorum Alexander Nevile, Ebrocencis archiepiscopus, et dominus Michael de Pole, comes Southfolchie,

Fuga comitis Oxonie et aliorum.

<sup>1</sup> cedandum. MS.

A.D. 1387. maximi regis consilarii; et nunquam reversuri in exilio perierunt.

f. 156 b. Tunc presencium compiler Oxonie, in jure canonico extraordinarius existens, dictorum quinque dominorum excercitum a dicto conflictu versus Londoniam transire vidit per Oxoniam; in cujus exercitus gubernacione, Warwyci et Derbeie primam aciem comites, dux Glowcestrie mediam, ac Arundelie et Notyngamie posteram comites tenebant.

Claves civi- Major Londonie, ipsorum adventum audiens, eis civitatis tatis. claves transmisit. Quo facto, dicti quinque domini turrem

A.D. 1388. Londonie, in festo Sancti Johannis Evangeliste, usque ad ejus dedicionem obsiderunt; regem in ea existentem ad statim sub nova gubernacione ordinarunt; ipsius adulatorios consilarios, usque ad parliementum proxime ex tunc sequens, dispersis carcerum custodiis tradiderunt. In crastinum Purificacionis Beate Marie Virginis dictos fugientes exularunt. Omnes regis justiciarios, quia mortis eorundem imagnate, ut premittitur, conscios,<sup>1</sup> ipsiusque regis confessorem, Cices-trensem episcopum, in Hiberniam deportarunt. Alios ipsius regis<sup>2</sup> suis excessibus inordinatos fautores, ymmo verius causatores, dominos Symonem de Beverley, ejus camerarium, Robertum Tresilian, principalem justiciarium, Nycholaum Brembil, Londonie majorem, Jacobum Berners et Johannem Salusbiri, milites, Thomam Usk et Johannem Blake, domicellos, et alios quam plures decapitarunt.

A.D. 1383. Hujus regis temporibus, propter scisma papatus, episcopus Norwycensis cum cruciata in Flandriam transiit, et ibidem Flandrenses circa novem mille, quia Gallicis scismaticis adherentes, bellicoso peremit insultu; tamen partes deserere et ad propriam remeare regis Francie et ejus excercitus potencia, pluribus Anglicis ad tunc ventris fluxu [morientibus], compellebatur.

A.D. 1386- Dux eciam Lancastrie, regnum Hispanie jure uxoris sue 1388. sibi vendicans, cum alia cruciata per duos annos post ad eas

<sup>1</sup> conscios. MS.

<sup>2</sup> rege. MS.

partes transiit; ubi plures regni Anglie nobiliores et quasi A.D. 1388. ipsius juventutis flores militares eodem morbo amisit; tamen cum rege Hispanie, pro uno ducatu ad ipsius vite terminum habendo ac magna auri summa pro expensis, ipsiusque filia dicti regis filio et heredi collocata in uxorem, rediit in Angliam pacificatus.

Hiis diebus magnum infortunium Oxonie contingebat; nam A.D. 1388, per biennium continue maxima discordia inter australes et Wa- 1389. lences ex una parte et boriales ex altera extitit suborta. Unde rixe, contenciones, et hominum sepe interfecciones extiterunt. Primo anno, boriales ab universitate totaliter fuerant expulsi. Boriales ab Oxonia expulsi. Quam expulsionem presencium compilatori multum imposuerunt. Secundo tamen anno, in mala eorum hora, Oxoniam Rixa Oxonie inter scolares. regressi, noctanter congregati, nobis exitum ab hospiciis armis negantes, nos multipliciter per duos dies infestarunt, quedam nostratum hospicia frangendo expoliandoque, ac quosdam occidendo. Tercio tamen die, aule Mertonis favore nostrates fortiter constipati ipsos stratas publicas, per eos illis duobus diebus pro castris occupatas, verecunde relinquere et ad propria hospicia affugere compulerunt. Quid mora? Pacificari non potuimus quousque nostrum quam plures de insurrexione proditoria indictati fuimus; inter quos presencium compilator, tanquam principalis Walencium dux et fautor, et forte non inmerito, indictatus fuerat. Sicque indictati, vix per duodenam nos obtinuimus coram regis iusticiario liberari. Regem de cetero, mihi prius in ipsius potencia ignotum, et ejus leges timui, maxillis meis frenum imponendo.<sup>1</sup> Aliud eciam infortunium contingebat; nam ille A.D. 1379. nobilis miles, dominus Johannes Arundele, versus partes Francie debellandas cum florida juventute patrie directus, quassata classe in vigilia Sancti Nicholai, pro dolor!, misera-bili maris intemperie, peremptus extitit. Causa infortunii sui pecuniis clero et populo exactis non inmerito imponebatur.

Semper a tempore hujusmodi exactionis, taxe vocate, A.D. 1388.

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxix. 4; xxxviii. 4.

- A.D. 1388. regnum memini aut intestinis cladibus atque transmarinis  
 f. 157. insidiis nonnulla infortunia sustinere. Numquid sic de comite  
 Pembrogie, cum taxa secum ad debellandum Franciam de-  
 A.D. 1372. portata, cum suis juxta Rochel depredato et in Hispaniam<sup>1</sup>  
 captivato? Idem de rege Edwardo contigit, qui, collectatis  
 clero et populo, cum magno excersitu Franciam invadere  
 affectans, adversante vento, licet juxta maritima ejus prosperi-  
 tatem per vj menses expectans, inutiliter rediit cum excer-  
 situ, ut superius habetur de eodem. Contra eam taxam ecce  
 Versus. quid Bridlinton prophesia:—

“Dum regnat taxa, non erit gracia laxa,

Sic opus inceptum lapsum pacietur<sup>2</sup> ineptum.”<sup>3</sup>

Et sic, pro dolor!, labi dinoscitur. Eciam a facie istius regis  
 Ricardi ille vir perfectissimus, Wyllelmus Cortenay, Cantu-  
 ariensis archiepiscopus, quia hujusmodi taxe recistere volens,  
 per eundem regem in Thamesia persecutus, mortem fugiens in  
 monastico habitu, partes Devonie peciit pro tutamine; tamen  
 hujusmodi regis persecucionem causantes mala morte in-  
 terierunt, de quibus supra, ut domino Symone Beverley et de  
 aliis.

Ordini annorum hucusque in gestis parcat lector, quia  
 solum que vidi et audiui forcius ex veritate facti quam ex  
 temporis ordine memorie comendavi.

- A.D. 1394. Anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup> nonogesimo quarto, in festo  
 Pentecostes, moriebatur illa benignissima domina, Anna, Anglie  
 regina, in manerio de Schene juxta Braynfort super Tha-  
 mesiam situata. Quod manerium, licet regale et pulcherimum,  
 occasione ipsius domine Anne mortis in eodem contingentis,  
 rex Ricardus funditus mandavit et fecit extirpari.<sup>4</sup> Post  
 ejus Anne sepulture solempnitatem, in crastino ad Vincula  
 Sancti Petri, debitis honoribus decoratam, statim rex, lugubri  
 veste cum suis indutus, ad domandum Hybernencium rebel-  
 lionem, maximo excersitu constipatus, transit in Hiberniam.

<sup>1</sup> in Hispaniam, repeated. MS.

<sup>3</sup> Dist. III. cap. ij.

<sup>2</sup> pacietur. MS.

<sup>4</sup> extirpari. MS.



Sed modicum ibi profecit, quia, licet Hibernientes sibi ad A.D. 1394. votum placere tunc se fingentes, statim post ejus recessum rebellare noscuntur.

Eodem anno, in fine Maii, rex rediit in Angliam, Bristolie A.D. 1395. applicando; et statim nuncios in Franciam pro secundo ejus matrimonio, de quo infra liquebit, direxit contrahendo. Quam filiam nondum septennem, regis Aragonie filia, ipsius herede, pulcherima et virilibus amplexibus ydonea, refusa, mirabiliter duxit uxorem. Set quare illam nondum septennem,<sup>1</sup> licet A.D. 1396. cum maximis expensis et seculi pompis Caliciis sibi nuptam, preelegit, dicitur quia regis Francie auxilio et favore, latens suum venenum effundere affectando, sibi exosos destruere proposuit; quod tamen ad suimet destructionem suorumque complicum finaliter contingebat, ut inferius patebit.

Parliamentum tentum Londonie, apud Westmonasterium, in A.D. 1397. festo Sancti Lamberti, die Lunæ tunc contingentis, anno Domini <sup>Ultimum</sup> millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup> nongesimo septimo. In quo parlimento <sup>parliamen-</sup> <sup>tum regis</sup> Ricardi, die presensium compilerator interfuit.

In primis, facta pronunciacione parlamenti, ad modum sermonis, per Edmundum Stafford, episcopum Exoniensem, cancellarium, in qua semper concludebat<sup>2</sup> ad unum, quod potestas regis esset sibi unica et solida et quod eam tollentes vel insidiantes pena legis essent condigni. Unde ad illum finem fuit per parliamentum ordinatum: primo ad inquirendum qui turbant potestatem regis et ejus regaliā; secundo,<sup>3</sup> qua pena essent turbatores feriendi; tertium, ut ordinetur ne ita in futurum turbetur. Et statim rex jussit plebeiis quod statim et ante recessum convenirent de locutore parlamenti, et in crastino ad viij de clocka eum sibi presentarent. Item, rex fecit proclamari gratiam omnibus in premissis incidenti- f. 157 b. bus, l. personis et aliis in isto parlimento impetendis duntaxat exceptis, dum tamen citra festum Sancti Hillari literas sue perdonacionis prosequantur cum effectu. Fecit eciam proclamari quod nullus de cetero, sub pena mortis, arma inva-

<sup>1</sup> septendem. MS.<sup>2</sup> conolidebat. MS.

secunda. MS.

A.D. 1397. siva vel deffensiva gestaret in parlamento, immediata domini nostri regis retinecia excepta. Item, die Martis, dominus Johannes Buschei fuit per plebeios presentatus regi locutor parlamenti, debita protestacione premissa ; et rex eum acceptavit.

Item, ad statim ille Buschei dixit regi : “[Quia sumus, domine mi rex, precepto vestro reverendo onerati vestre celsitudini regie intimare qui sunt]<sup>1</sup> qui contra majestatem et regaliā vestram commiserunt, dicimus quia Thomas dux. Glowcestrie, Ricardus comes Arundelie, anno regni vestri decimo, proditorie compulerunt vos, per medium nunc Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, tunc cancellarii, graves injurias vobis inferentes, concedere unam eis commissionem ad gubernandum regnum vestrum ac ejus statum disponendum, in prejudicium vestre magestatis ac regalie.”

Item, eodem die, ipsa commissio fuit annullata cum omnibus et singulis ex ea dependentibus et per eam causatis.

Regia  
perdonacio  
revocatur.

Item, generalis perdonacio concessa post magnum parlamentum, causata<sup>2</sup> per eos, et una specialis perdonacio concessa domino comiti Arundelie fuerant revocate. Item, fuit per plebeios petatum, Johanne Buschei verba semper proferente, quia illa specialis perdonacio pro proditore fuit impetrata per Thomam Arundell, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, tunc cancellarium Anglie, ipsius impetrator,<sup>3</sup> qui pocius ex officio restitisset, proditor adjudicaretur. Idemque archiepiscopus surrexit volens respondere ; et rex dixit sibi. “Cras.” De cetero tamen ibi non comparuit. Rex eciam super ista petitione dixit quod vellet deliberare.

Item, fuit statutum quod convictus<sup>4</sup> de cetero contra regaliā domini regis falsus proditor, pena prodicionis<sup>5</sup> condigna sibi irroganda, adjudicaretur. Item, fuit statutum, de consensu prelatorum, quod criminalia de cetero, eorum irrequisito concensu, in omni parlamento essent terminanda. Et tunc,

<sup>1</sup> Supplied from the *Vita Ricardi II.* of the Monk of Evesham, p. 132. The MS. has only the words, “Sumus honorati.”

<sup>2</sup> causatur. MS.

<sup>3</sup> ipsum impetratus. MS.

<sup>4</sup> convicteus. MS.

<sup>5</sup> perdicionis. MS.

habita licencia, recesserunt. Magnus, ut solet, habebatur A.D. 1397. tumultus; unde sagittarii regis in numero iiij<sup>or</sup> millia circumvallantes domum parliementi, in medio pavimenti palacii ex hoc capite tantum factum, credentes fuisse in dicta domo aliquam rixam aut pugnam, arcubus tensis<sup>1</sup>, sagittas ad aures trahebant, ad magnū metum omnium ibidem existentium; et rex eos pacificavit.

Item, die Mercurii<sup>2</sup>, dictum statutum prelatorum fuit penitus revocatum; et fuit eis jussum, sub pena amissionis temporalium, pro stabilitate agendorum in eodem parliamento, quod illo eodem die concordarent de aliquo certo procuratore ad consenciendum, nomine eorum, omnibus in eodem parliamento expediendis.

Item, rex habuit ista verba: “Domine Johannes Buschey, quia plures rogant me explanare illas l. personas in perdonacione generali exceptas, breviter nolo; et hoc petens est morte condignus. Primo quia fugerent; secundo, eciam quia excepti impetendos in isto parliamento; tertio, quia per expressionem illorum alii eorum socii timerent, ubi non esset timendum.”

Item, die Jovis, dominus Cantuariensis venit ad palacium versus parliamentum; et rex misit sibi per episcopum Karlionnensem quod rediret ad hospicium suum; et factum est ita, et de cetero non comparuit.

Item, prelati fecerunt dominum Thomam Percy, senescallum regis, procuratorem suum, cum clausulis de ratis, ad consenciendum omnibus in parliamento agendis.

Prelati in criminalibus per procuratorem etc.

Item, dominus Johannes Buchey habuit ista verba: “Domine rex, quia secundus articulus parliementi est de pena imponenda violentibus regaliā vestram, suplico quod me per viam appellacionis, accusacionis, sive impeticionis, cum licencia variandi de uno ad reliquum, quociens et quando mihi et f. 158. sociis meis videbitur expedire, auctorizare dignemini.” Et factum est ita. Tunc ille Buschei habuit ista verba: “Ego accuso Thomam Arundell, archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, de

<sup>1</sup> detensis. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Mercure. MS.

A.D. 1397. triplici prodicione. Primo, de commissione regiminis regni vestri sibi, Thome duci Glowcestrie, Ricardo comiti Arundellie, ad instanciam suam et per ipsum, qui potius ex officio, quia cancellarius vester ad tunc, restitisset, proditorie concessa.<sup>1</sup> Secundo, quia pretextu illius proditoris commissionis, vestre regalie jurisdictionem prodiciose usurpando, ipsi solempne parliamentum in prejudicium regalie vestre proditorie celebrarunt. Tertio, quia per dictam prodicionis usurpacionem domini Symon de Beverlei et Jacobus Bernyers, milites, et fideles ligii vestri, proditorie fuerunt interfecti. De quibus nos plebei vestri petimus iudicium, tantis prodicionibus condignum, in ipsum per vos fulminari. Et quia ipse archiepiscopus magnarum consanguinitatis, affinitatis, diviciarum, ingenique cautelissimi et crudelissimi vir existit, in salvacionem status vestri totiusque regni vestri et expedicionem presentis parliamenti, peto quod in salva ponetur custodia usque ad finalem sui iudicii execucionem.” Rex quo[que] ad hoc respondit quod propter tante<sup>2</sup> persone excellenciam deliberaret in crastinum; ac omnes alios in dicta commissione insertos<sup>3</sup> pronunciavit fideles, legales, et eciam prodicione immunes, et specialiter Alexandrum Nevyll, nuper archiepiscopum Eboracensem. Et tunc dominus Edmundus Langley, dux Eboracensis, avunculus regis, et dominus Wyllelmus Wykham, episcopus Wyntoniensis, in dicta commissione inserti,<sup>4</sup> lacrimantes, proni in terram ceciderunt, regi de tanto beneficio regraciando.

Item, die Veneris, scilicet in festo Sancti Mathei contingente, de Rotlond, de Kent, de Huntington, de Notyngham, de Somerset, de Sarum, comites, dominus de Spenser et dominus Wyllelmus Scroppe, in una secta rubiarum togarum de cerico, rotulatarum et albo cerico, literis aureis immixtarum, appellacionem per eos regi prius apud Notingham edditam proposuerunt; in qua accusabant Thomam ducem Gloucestrie, Ricardum comitem Arundellie, Thomam comitem

<sup>1</sup> concessit. MS.

<sup>2</sup> tande. MS.

<sup>3</sup> incertos. MS.

<sup>4</sup> incerti. MS.

Warwyci, et Thomam Mortimer, militem, de premissis pro- A.D. 1397.  
 dicionibus et eciam de insurrexione armata apud Haryncay  
 Parke contra regem proditorie facta. Prestitaque caucione de  
 prosequendo appellacionem suam, Ricardus comes Arundellie,  
 scistebatur in iudicio in rubra toga et capicio de scarleto. Et  
 statim dux Lancastrie dixit domino de Nevyll: "Tollas sibi  
 zonam et capicium;" et factum est ita. Expositisque eidem  
 comiti articulis, forti animo negando se proditorem, peciit sue  
 perdonacionis beneficium alias concessum, protestando quod  
 nunquam a regis<sup>1</sup> sui gracia vellet recedere. Dux Lancastrie  
 sibi dixit: "Proditor, illa perdonacio est revocata." Comes res-  
 pondit: "Vere mentiris! Nunquam fui proditor!" Item dux  
 Lancastrie dixit: "Quare tunc impetrasti perdonacionem?"  
 Comes respondit: "Ad obturandum linguas emulorum meorum,  
 quorum tu es unus; et pro certo, quantum ad prodiciones, tu  
 magis indiges perdonacione quam ego." Rex dixit sibi: "Res-  
 pondeas appellacioni tue." Comes respondit: "Bene video quod  
 ille persone accusant me de prodicione, ostendendo appella-  
 ciones. Vere mentiuntur omnes! Nunquam fui proditor! Ego  
 semper peto beneficium perdonacionis mee, quam mihi infra  
 vj annos ultimo elapsos, in plena etate et libera voluntate  
 vestris, ex proprio motu concessistis." Tunc dixit rex: "Ita  
 concessi, si non esset contra me." Tunc dixit dux Lancastrie:  
 "Tunc non valet concessio." Comes respondit: "Vere de  
 illa prodicione<sup>2</sup> plus nescivi tunc quam tu qui in partibus  
 transmarinis fueras." Tunc dixit dominus Johannes Buschey:  
 "Illa perdonacio revocata est per regem, dominos, et nos f. 158 b.  
 fideles plebeios." Comes respondit: "Ubi illi fideles plebei?  
 Bene novi te et comitivam tuam ibi, qualiter congregati estis,  
 non ad fidelitatem faciendam, quia plebei fideles regni non  
 sunt hic. Sed scio quod ipsi multum dolent me; et bene scio  
 quod tu semper fuisti falsus." Et tunc Buschei et socii sui  
 clamaverunt: "Ecce, domine rex, qualiter iste proditor  
 nititur suscitare sedicionem inter nos et regni plebeios domi

<sup>1</sup> rege. MS.<sup>2</sup> perdonacione. MS.

A.D. 1397. existentes." Comes respondit: "Vos omnes mentimini! Non sum proditor!" Tunc surrexit comes de Derby et dixit sibi: "Nonne tu dixisti mihi apud Huntingtoniam, ubi primo ad insurgendum eramus congregati, quod melius esset ante omnia capere regem?" Comes respondit: "Tu, comes Derbeij, tu mentiris in caput tuum! Nunquam de domino nostro rege cogitavi, nisi quod sibi boni esset et honoris." Tunc dixit sibi rex met: "Nonne tu dixisti mihi, tempore parliementi tui, in balneo depest albam aulam, quod dominus Symon de Bevyrley, miles meus, propter plures causas erat mortis reus? Et ego respondi tibi quod nullas mortis causas in eo scivi; et tunc tu et socii tui ipsum proditorie interfecistis." Et tunc dux Lancastrie mortis sententiam sub hiis verbis tulit in eundem: "Ricarde, ego senescallus Anglie te proditorem esse judico, et te trahendum, suspendendum, decollandum, et quatriperciendum, ac terras tuas taliatas et non taliatas confiscandas sentencialiter et diffinitive condempno."

Comes  
Derbeij  
contra  
comitem  
Arundelie.

Sententia  
contra  
comitem  
Arundelie.

Tunc rex, ob reverenciam sanguinis sui, jussit eum tantum decollari. Et duxerunt eum emuli sui, comes Cancie, ipsius nepos, et alii terras suas sicientes,<sup>1</sup> mala mortis peste, ut inferius liquebit, perempti, ad montem turre, et ibi ipsum decollarunt. Cum cujus anima utinam me participem fieri mererer! quia pro certo ipsum sanctorum collegio non dubito aggregari. Corpus tamen suum, licet tunc irreverenter apud Augustinenses<sup>2</sup> Londonie tumulatum, modo cum summa reverencia et populi frequenti oblatione quam gloriose veneratum existit.

Item, die Sabbati, dominus Thomas Mortimer fuit preconizatus, sub pena proditoris exilii, infra sex menses se iudicio scisturum. Et rex dixit: "Forte comes Marchie eum capere non poterit; ideo tamdiu ejus certificatorium expectabo." Qui quidem dominus Thomas sic exulatus tempore exilii morabatur in Scocia.

<sup>1</sup> cisientes. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Agustinentes. MS.

Item, fuit declaratum quod omnia beneficia per dampnatos A.D. 1397. et dampnandos in isto parlimento, et alia quecumque ab anno regis decimo concessa et alienata, essent revocata.

Item, die Lune proxime sequenti, lecto certificatorio comitis Notingham, ad tunc capitani Caliciorum, in cujus custodia dux Glowcestrie fuerat, quod idem dux scisti in iudicio non potuit ideo quia in custodia sua mortuus erat Calicie; ad petitionem dictorum appellancium eadem in eum, que et in comitem Arundellie, fulminata extitit sententia.

Item, Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, confiscatis primitus ejus temporalibus, a regno extitit exulatus.

Item, die Martis sequente, Ricullus, justiciarius domini regis, de Hybernia oriundus, legit certas confessiones in scriptis redactas super dictis prodicionibus commissis,<sup>1</sup> asserendo eas esse dicti ducis confessiones, per ipsum emissas ac ejusdem ducis manu scriptas.

Item, comitatus<sup>2</sup> Cestrie, ad honorem ducatus sublevatus, per annexum terrarum dicti comitis Arundellie confiscatarum fuit augmentatus. Item, comes Sarum pēciit sibi concedi breve *scire facias* contra comitem Marchie super dominio de Dienebyeth de Wallia; et super hoc rex respondit quod deliberaret.

Item, die Mercurii<sup>3</sup> tunc sequente, fuit ordinatum quod terre dicti comitis Arundellie, dicto ducatu Cestrie annexe, ejus libertatibus in omnibus gauderent, excepto quod Wallenses illarum terrarum antiqua jura et consuetudines continuarent.

Item, fuit ordinatum quod concilium, auxilium, vel favorem f. 159. filiis dampnatorum vel dampnandorum in hoc parlimento prestantes pena prodicionis plectarentur. Et parliamentum ad diem Veneris proxime sequentem<sup>4</sup> extitit continuatum.

Item, ipso die Veneris, rex declaravit quales ex dampnatis et dampnandis descendentes ab hereditatibus<sup>5</sup> dampnatorum consiliisque et parlimentis regis excluderentur, scilicet

<sup>1</sup> emissis. MS.

<sup>2</sup> comes. MS.

<sup>3</sup> Altered to Martis in MS.

<sup>4</sup> sequens. MS.

<sup>5</sup> heredibus. MS.

A.D. 1397. masculi et per lineam masculinam ex eis descendentes in infinitum.

Dominus  
Cantuar-  
iensis  
exulatur  
a regno.

Item, rex prefixit dicto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi terminum sex septimanarum ad exeundum regnum suum.

Item, fuit ordinatum quod omnes domini, spirituales et temporales, jurarent se immobiliter observaturos quicquid in isto parlamento factum, statutum, vel expeditum fuerat fueritve; fulminatis eciam censuris per prelatos ex nunc<sup>1</sup> pro ex tunc in contravenientes.

Item, comes Warwyci scistebatur in iudicio, ablatoque sibi capicio et lecta appellacione, quasi misera et vetula, fatebatur omnia in appellacione contenta, plorando et lacrimando et ululando per ipsum, tamquam proditorem, esse perpetrata; regis gracie se in omnibus submittendo; dolens quod dictis appellatis umquam extiterat associatus. Et rex peciit ab eo per quem eis extitit allectus; et ipse respondit quod per Thomam ducem Gloucestrie et abbatem tunc Sancti Albani et monachum reclusum Westmonasterii; et semper gratiam regis peciit. Et tunc, quasi omnibus pro eo plorantibus et sibi gratiam regis petentibus, rex concessit sibi vitam perpetuis carceribus extra regnum lugendam, primitus ipsius bonis mobilibus et immobilibus, ad modum dicti comitis Arundellie, confiscatis. Et tunc rex misit eum ad turrem Londonie, et demum ad castrum insule de Manna transmitendum, sub custodia domini Willelmi Scropp, dicte insule ad tuendum, dictis carceribus perpetuo mancipandum.

Item, die Sabbati, rex prefixit comiti Warwyci unum mensem ad dictum castrum de Manna se translaturum. Concessit sibi, licet fecte, et uxori sue quingintas marcas ad terminum vite eorundem; tamen nullum denarium sibi solvit, set omnia usque ad ligulas<sup>2</sup> eis abstulit.

Item, comiti Sarum fuit concessum breve *scire facias* contra comitem Marchie super dominio de Dynby, datis induciis xl dierum ad respondendum.

Dynby.  
Nota.

<sup>1</sup> tunc. MS.

<sup>2</sup> legulas. MS.



Item, ordinatum fuit quod debitores pontis de Rougestria A.D. 1397. ad usum ejusdem pontis exigentur.

Item, rex expressit quod quoad<sup>1</sup> excessum Scotorum, in dicto parlamento divulgatum, per se et concilium suum ordinaret remedium.

Item, comes Derbey, dux Herfordie; comes Rotlandie, dux Almarlie; comes Kancie, dux Surreie; comes Huntingtonie, dux Exonie; comes Notyngham, dux Northefolcie; comes Somerset, Marchio Dorset; dominus de Spenser, comes Gloucestrie; dominus de Nevylle, comes Westhomerlond; dominus Thomas Percy, comes Wygornie; et dominus Wyllelmus Scroppe, comes Wyltesire, creati extiterunt; et continuatum fuit parliamentum ad Salopiam in quindenam Hillarii proxime sequentis perficiendum.

Item, die Dominica, rex fecit magnum convivium licenciando recessum parlamenti, et [ut] supra in die Veneris de censuris et juramentis ordinatum fuit. Istud tamen parliamentum, licet dominorum juramentis, prelatorum censuris in crimina facientes fulminatis, apostolicaque confirmacione, Petro episcopo Aquenci vice pape consimiliter censuras vibrante, extitit roboratum; tamen, ad modum statue Nobocodonosor, in maxima ejus vana gloria ruit parliamentum cum ejus fautoribus, et merito forte juxta premissa, ut plenius infra patebit. Exemplum Cosdre; de Baldesar, de Antiocho et aliis tirannis populum affligentibus.

Et sic rex apud Salopiam parliamentum continuavit in tanta mundi pompa, quantam nec auris auditit nec in cor hominis ascendit.<sup>2</sup> Quanta inutilia et regni destructiva in tantum populi confluentia ad modum hostilem armati incedendo excercuit, miraretur mundus. In quo, ultra alia populo suo nociva et annone destructiva, eciam pro victualibus nihil solvit. Ubi tunc dominus de Cobham, appellatus de prodicione quia unus de dictis xij regni gubernatoribus, dixit regi in judicio: "Constat vobis quod vos jussistis mihi

Papa roboravit parliamentum.

A.D. 1398. f. 159 b.

<sup>1</sup> quia ad, MS.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 9.

A.D. 1398. onus commissionis subire et eandem admittere." Rex respondit: "Constat tibi quod invitatus sic jussi." "Vere," dixit idem dominus de Cobham, "non." Et rex fecit eum per ducem Lancastrie proditorem adjudicari, sed vitam concessit ei perpetuo lugendam carceribus. Unde dux dixit sibi: "Regracieris pro vita tua domino regi." "Vere," dixit ille dominus, "nequaquam; quia poscius tardat mihi vitam, quia credidi me cicius vita eterna gaudere quam jam gaudebo." Ubi etiam et quando rex extorsit a clero decimam cum dimidia, et a populo quintam-decimam cum dimidia, et a quolibet sacco lane quinque marcas, et a quolibet dolio vini quinque solidos, et a qualibet librata ponderis omnis<sup>1</sup> mercimonii duos solidos ad terminum vite sue, cum interna populi malediccione. Demum dictum dominum de Cobham ad perpetuos carceres insule de Gersey transmisit.

Ad istud parliamentum, ibidem vocatus, venit ille nobilis miles, comes Marchie, locumtenens Hibernie, summe probitatis juvenis, qui hujusmodi conciliis et lassiviis regis expers erat et immunis. Quem populus jocunde et gaudenti animo recepit, sibi in capiciis de rubio et albo sui coloris partitis ad numerum xx millia in suo adventu obviando, sperans per eum a tanta regis calamitate liberari. Tamen ipse sapienter et caute se gerens, quia rex et alii sibi in parte fautores probitatis sue invidi insidias sibi ponebant, occaciones contra eum querendi, ipse tamen, quasi non curaret de turbacione populi, dissimulavit penes regem, ipsius facta sibi placere fingendo, cum rei veritate multum sibi displicuerant. Rex tamen hoc suspicans et in eum continue malignans propriis manibus, ex quo alii hoc non audebant, ipsum proposuit interemere. Et oportunitatem ad sui destruccionem, cum aliis ad hoc conspiratis, rex semper ymaginavit, propositum suum malignum ita palliando, eo quod dominum Thomam Mortimer, militem strenuissimum, ipsius patrum, per eos exulatum, et quem ipsi summe timebant, aliquamdiu post

<sup>1</sup> onus, MS.

hujus exilium receptasset in Hibernia, ac ipsum ante sui A.D. 1398. recessum suis recreasset pecuniis. Dictumque comitem ideo inter se secrete dampnarunt, captantes tempus ad ipsius destruccionem, terras suas ex hoc inter se dividendas jactando. Et ad illum finem dominum<sup>1</sup> Surrey predictum, uxoris sue fratrem malignissimum, pro ipsius capcione locumtenentem direxerunt in Hiberniam. Set pro dolor! in festo Sancte f. 160.

Margarete, juxta Kenlasoe in Hibernia, nimia ipsius bellicosa animositate excercitum proprium incaute precedens, in suorum hostium manus belli fortuna cecidit peremptus, ad magnam regni Anglie tristiciam, suorumque emulorum et inimicorum gaudium nimirum non modicum et leticiam.

Hec ipsius comitis genologia:—Rogerus filius Edmundi, filii Rogeri, filii Edmundi, filii Rogeri, primi comitis Marchie, filii Cladus Thui, filie Llewellyn ap Jorwerth Troynden principis Norþewalie, filii Oweyn, filii Gruffith, filii Conaan, filii 3ago, filii Ydwall, filii Mauric, filii Ydwall Voyll, filii Anaraud, filii Rodry Vawr ex Essill filia Kynan, filii Rodry Maylwynnog, filii Ydwali 3eorth, filii Cadualadre benedicti ultimi regis Brytonum, filii Cadwalonis, filii Caduani, filii 3iago, filii Beli, filii Rune, filii Mailgan Goynet, filii Caduallan Lawyr, filii Yvor Hyrth, filii Cunetha Wledik, filii Ederne, filii Padarne Peys Ruthe, filii Tegy, filii Jago, filii Kuneddane, filii Caynan, filii Borgayn, filii Doly, filii Gortholy, filii Cwyne, filii Gorthewyn, filii Amleweth, filii Anweyrid, filii Oweth, filii Donker, filii Brychwane, filii Ymwane, filii Analathas, filii Affleth, filii Beli Vawr, filii Mynagan, filii Enayd, filii Gerwyt, filii Creden, filii Dyffnach, filii Pryden, filii Aedmawr, filii Antony, filii Sirioll, filii Garowest, filii Ruallon, filii Cunetha ex Ragaw filia Leyr qui fecit Licestriam, filii Bladudd qui fecit balnea apud Bathoniam, filii Rune, filii Llann, filii Bruti viridis scuti, filii Eboracy qui fecit civitatem Eboraci, filii Membryc, filii Madag, filii Locriny, filii Bruti primi regis Britonum, filii

Casus  
comitis  
Marchie in  
bello et  
ejus gene-  
logia.

Hic primo  
de princi-  
pibus.

Hic primo  
de regibus.

Hucusque  
de Britoni-  
bus.

Hic primo  
de tirannis.

<sup>1</sup> dominos, MS.

A.D. 1398. Silvy, filii Escannyi, filii Enee Scothewyn, filii Enchiges, filii Capus, filii Asseraci, filii Troysse, filii Elicony, filii Mercuri, filii Dardani, filii Jovis, filii Saturni, filii Seluis, filii Creti, filii Seprii, filii Jevan, filii Jaseph, filii Noee, filii Lamech, filii Mathusalem, filii Ennoc, filii Jaffeth,<sup>1</sup> filii Malaleel, filii Caynan, filii Ennoc, filii Seth, filii Ade prothoplausti.

Jam redeamus ad dictam Cladus Thui, filiam Johanne, filie Johannis regis, filii Henrici fyz Emperys, filie Henrici primi, filii Wyllelmi conquestoris, filii [Roberti, filii]<sup>2</sup> Ricardi, filii Ricardi sine timore, filii Wyllelmi Longspe, filii Rolonis primi conquestoris Normanie.

Ultra dictorum Brytanie, Ytalie, Troge, Anglie, Francie, et Hispanie nobilium regum nobilissimum exortum, ut quid mora, ecce quanta comitum Marchie florens regalis prosapia! Idem Rogerus comes predictus filius fuit Philippe comitis Marchie, filie Leonelli ducis Clarencie, secundo-geniti Edwardi tercii, regis Anglie et Francie gloriosi, filii Isabelle, filie Philippi regis Francie ejusque heredis unice; et hoc in utraque linea directa. Item, ex alio latere filius fuit dicte Philippe ex Elizabetha<sup>3</sup> Clarencie ducissa, filia Wyllelmy Borch, comitis Ultonie, [filii Johannis de Borch]<sup>4</sup> ex Elezabetha, filia Johanne de Acris, filie Edwardi primi, regis Anglie et conquestoris Walie, ex Alianora filia regis Hispanie, prima ejus uxore. Item, ex alio latere filius fuit ejusdem Philippe comitis, filie ducisse Clarencie predicte, filie dicti comitis Ultonie ex Matilda,<sup>5</sup> filia Henrici<sup>6</sup> comitis Lancastrie, filii Edmundi,<sup>7</sup> filii tercii Henrici regis Anglie ex Alianora,<sup>8</sup> filia comitis Provincie, Westmonasterii inter reges

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Jared.<sup>2</sup> Omitted in MS.<sup>3</sup> Philippa, MS.<sup>4</sup> Omitted in MS.<sup>5</sup> N., MS.<sup>6</sup> Thome, MS.<sup>7</sup> The following note is written in the margin:—

“Nota quod iste historiographus dicit libro septimo quod Edwardus Wallie conquestor fuit primogenitus Henrici 3<sup>ni</sup>, quanquam alii dixerint contrarium, scilicet quod Edmundus, de quo fit [mencio] supra. Quod non credo. Hec habentur libro 7, capitulo 35.”

The reference is to the *Polychronicon*, which precedes the present chronicle in the MS.

<sup>8</sup> N., MS.

honorifice tumulata. Ultra, nota de Edmundo jam comite A.D. 1398. Marchie, dicti Rogeri filio inpubere et in custodia regis existente, ex Alianora regis Ricardi secundi nepte, filia comitis Cancie, filii Johanne<sup>1</sup> comitisse Cancie, filie Ed- f. 160 b.  
mundi,<sup>2</sup> filii dicti Edwardi primi ex Margareta, filia regis Regis Francie.  
Francie, ejus secunda uxore, ante summum altare in ecclesia fratrum minorum Londonie tumulata.

Jam redeamus ad dictam imperatricem, [filiam Matildis]<sup>3</sup> filie Margarete regine Scocie, filie Edwardi exulis, filii Edmundi Irynsid, filii Athelredi, filii Edgarii, filii Edmundi, filii Edwardi, filii Aluredi, filii Athelulphy, filii Athelbryzt, filii Aelmundi, qui fuit unus de v regulis Anglie; qui quidem Athelbryzt fugit a facie Bryzthryzt, sibi invidentis, in Franciam, tempore Kareli Mayny; dicto vero Bryzthryzt mortuo, idem Athelbryzt reversus in Angliam, ceteris regulis Anglie per eum viriliter divictis, Angliam ad unam monarcham redegit, in ea pacifice regnando, et jacet Wyntonie. Jam redeamus ad dictum Radulphum, maritum dicte Wladus Thui, filium Rogeri,<sup>4</sup> filii Hugonis fundatoris abbathie de Wygmore, filii Radulphi Mortumer qui primo venit cum Wyllielmo conquestore in Angliam. Iste Radulphus, dicto filio suo Hugone in dominio de Wygmore relicto, in Normaniam reversus ibi mortuus est, ut in chronicis<sup>5</sup> dicte abbathie habetur.

Hic primo  
de regibus  
Saxonum.

Hic origo  
de Mortu-  
mer.  
Fondator  
abbacie de  
Wygmore.

Jam de Edmundo, patre dicti Rogeri, aliquid proferre non omitto. Iste Edmundus, qui infra byennium, suarum virtutum prosapia et industria pariter militari [et] strenuitate, quibus diebus suis ceteris mortalibus prepollebat, totam Hyberniam, in ipsius locum-tenencie ibidem adventu rebelantem, ad unitatem et pacem Anglieque subjeccionem mirifice reduxit, presencium compilatorem ad utriusque juris studium Oxonie exhibuit honeste sustentatum. Domi,<sup>6</sup> apud Cork in Hibernia, in festo Sancti Johannis Evangeliste, pro

<sup>1</sup> Philippe, MS.

<sup>2</sup> filii Johannis added in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in MS.

<sup>4</sup> filium Hugonis filii Rogeri, MS.

<sup>5</sup> ut habetur in coronis, MS.

<sup>6</sup> domum, MS.

A.D. 1398. dolor! casu quodam quo omnia tendunt in occasum, longe ante michi optatum terminum, tanta sui nobilitate mundum reliquit<sup>1</sup> orbatum. Et jacent ejus ossa in abbatia de Wygmore, una cum dicta Philippa uxore sua, ante summum altare ejusdem abbathie tumulata. De quibus ecce versus:—

Versus. “Vir constans, gratus, sapiens, bene nuper amatus,  
Nunc nece prostratus, sub marmore pudret humatus.  
Hic jacet Edmundus, moriens Cork, corpore mundus;  
Sisque pius, Christe, sibi quem lapis opprimit iste.”

Item, de dicta Philippa:—

Versus. “Nobilis hic tumulata jacet comitissa Philippa.  
Actibus hec nituit; larga, benigna fuit.  
Regum sanguis erat, morum probitate vigeat,  
Conpaciens inopi; vivat in arce celi.”

Per istam Philippam, Leonelli secundogeniti Anglie [filiam],<sup>2</sup> ut<sup>3</sup> premittitur, comitatus Marchie, una cum regali progenie ad summos honoris apices attingere virsimiliter valenti, per dominia de Clare, Walsingham, Sodbiry, Waddon, Cramborn, et Berdfeld, in Anglia; de Usk, Kaerlion, et Tryllek, in Walia; de comitatu Ultonie, et dominio de Connach, in Hibernia, cum eorum nonnullis et quam plurimis magnorum dominiorum pertinenciis, gaudet quam honorifice augmentatus.

Parliamentum  
Salopie.

Jam ad parliamentum predictum Salopie redeamus. Cujus tempore dux Northfolcie, postea mortuus in exilio apud Veneciam, duci Lancastrie mortis insidias illuc venienti posuit; quod magnos doloris turbines causavit. Ipse tamen de hoc precautus aliunde hujusmodi insidias evasit.

Rex continue usque ad ejus ruinam, inter cetera gravamina regno suo per ipsum accumulata, habuit secum in familia sua cccctos<sup>4</sup> excessivos viros de comitatu Cestrie, utique malignissimos, et subditos ubique impune affligentes, pulsantes, et depredantes. Qui, ubicumque rex devertebat, secum armati diei et noctis vigiliis circa eum ad modum guerrancium cus-

<sup>1</sup> reliquid, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in MS.

<sup>3</sup> et, MS.

todiebant; adulteriaque, homicidia, et alia infinita mala A.D. 1398. ubique committendo. Quos rex in tantum fovebat ita ut nullum contra eos querelantem audire dignaretur, ymmo illum tamquam exosum potius dedignaretur. Quod<sup>1</sup> fuit causa ipsi ruine maxima.

In dicto parlamento, dux Herfordie, filius dicti ducis <sup>Appellacio ducis</sup> Lancastrie, de prodicione dictum ducem Norfolkie appellavit. <sup>Herffordie.</sup> Unde rex assignavit eis crastinum Exaltacionis Sancte Crucis tunc proxime sequens ad duellandum in ea parte. Dux f. 161. Herfordie interim sub fidejussoria caucione quo volebat se divertit. Duce tamen Northfolchie apud Wyndesor carcerali mancipato custodie, ejusdem officia aliis coappellatoribus suis fuerunt collata, officium scilicet marescallie Anglie duci Surreye, et officium capitanie Callicie duci Exonie; propter quas concessioncs inter ipsum et eos, justo Dei judicio, misit Deus magnum scismatis chaos, juxta illud prophecie, unde versus:—

“Judice celorum rumpetur turba malorum.”<sup>2</sup>

Quo duelli die ambo in magno apparatu ad ipsum locum<sup>3</sup> fossa aquatica munitum venerunt. Set dux Herefordie multum gloriosius cum septem equorum diversitatis apparatu insignitus comparuit. Et quia rex a sortilegio habuerat quod dux Northfolchie tunc prevaleret, ducis Herfordie destructionem affectando multum gaudebat. Set in congressu eorundem sibi videbatur quod dux Herffordie prevaleret. Rex <sup>Ducis Northfolchie exilium.</sup> duellum mandavit dissolvi, dicto duci Northfolchie perpetuum exilium inducendo, affectans tamen eundem, captata oportunitate, reconciliare. Ducem vero Herfordie pro decem <sup>Ducis Herffordie bannicio.</sup> annis bannivit a regno. Primus Veniciis in exilio expiravit; secundus infra annum ad regnum gloriose rediit, ac, banniente deposito, in eodem potenter regnavit.

Isto anno, in crastino Sancti Blassii, moritur dictus dux A.D. 1399. Lancastrie, et in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londonie, prope summum altare, multum honoratus tumulatur.

<sup>1</sup> que, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Bridlington, dist. II. cap. vj.

<sup>3</sup> ipsius loci, MS.

- A.D. 1398. In quo parlimento, totalem ipsius regni potestatem rex sibi et sex aliis, per ipsum designandis, ad vite sue terminum, ubi et quando sibi placeret, optinuit comitti. Per quam
- A.D. 1399. commissionem postea dictum ducem Herfordie, omnibus ejus bonis confiscatis, perpetuo exilio condemnavit. Plurimumque memoriam post mortem dampnavit. Et demum ad partes Hybernie debellandas in mala sibi hora se direxit, quia, ut inferius apparebit, inutilis fuit sibi ad sua regressus. Adventus sui exilii dicti Herfordie, et per mortem sui patris jam Lancastrie, ducis, sic duplici ducatu functi, juxta illud prophecie Brydlintoun, ubi versus:—

“Bis dux vix veniet cum trecentis sociatis.

Phi. falsus fugiat, non succurret nece stratis.”<sup>1</sup>

Iste dux Henricus, secundum prophetiam Merlini juxta prophetiam, pullus aquile, quia filius Johannis. Set secundum Bredlintoun merito canis, propter liberatam collariorum leporariis conveniencium; et quia diebus canicularibus venit; et quia infidos cervos, liberatam scilicet regis Ricardi in cervis existentem, penitus regno affugavit.

Iste dux Henricus ab exilio suo, una cum Thoma, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Thoma, comite Arundelie, filio, mortis sui metu a custodia ducis Exonie, fratris regis Ricardi, ad ipsum in Francia fugiente, vicesimo octavo die Junii, in loco applicari insolito, vix cum ccc., ut premittitur, terre in partibus borialibus applicuit. Cui primo in sui succursum ipsius foreste de Knarisborow archiforestarius, Robertus Watourtoun, advenit cum ducentis forestariis, ac demum de Westhomerlond et Northomerlond comites, domini de Wylby et de Graystok, ut, quid mora, infra paucos dies centum mille bellicosus gaudenter extitit stipatus. Brystoliam cum exercitu ante-penultimo die Julii applicavit, et ibidem dominum Wylllelmum Scroppe, regis thesaurarium, dominos Johannem Buschei et Henricum Grene, milites, regis pessimos conciliarios et ejus malicie principales fautores, decapitavit. Ubi

<sup>1</sup> Dist. II., cap. ij.



presencium compilerum cum dicto domino Cantuariensi reverso A.D. 1399. interfuit; eundemque ducem cum dominio de Usk, originis sui loco, quem depredandum proposuerat propter recistenciam ejusdem loci domine, regine nepti, ibidem ordinatam, gracie pacificavit, et dominum Edwardum Charlton, ejusdem domine tunc maritum, predicto duci retineri optinuit; ac totam patriam Usce, pro dicta recistencia Monstarri congregatam, cum maximo eorum gaudio ad propria fecit remeare.

Demum idem dux cum exercitu suo apud Herffordiam, secundo die Augustii, in palacio episcopi se hospitavit; et in crastino se versus Cestream movit, et in prioratu de Lempster f. 161 b. pernoctavit. Et postea nocte proxima apud Lodewal in castro regis, vno ibidem inhorriato non parcens, pernoctavit. Ubi presencium compilerum ab eo et a domino Cantuariensi fratrem Thomam Prestburi magistrum in theologia, ipsius contemporarium Oxonie, monachum de Salopia, tunc carceribus per regem Ricardum detentum, eo quod contra excessus suos quedam merito predicasset, ab hujusmodi carceribus liberari, et in abbatem monasterii sui erigi, optinuit. Demum per Salopiam transitus ibi per duos dies mansit; ubi fecit proclamari quod exercitus suus se ad Cestriam dirigeret, tamen populo et patrie parceret, eo quod per internuncios se sibi submiserant. Qua de causa plures, patriam illam in predam sibi captantes, ad propria recesserunt. Set modicum patrie valuit proclamatio, ut infra apparebit. Cause quare dux decrevit illam patriam invadendam: quia assistens regi, ut premititur, regnum per biennium continuum homicidiis, adulteriis, furtis, rapinis, et aliis intollerabilibus injuriis infestare non cessavit; et quia contra dictum ducem et ejus adventum surrexerant, ipsum destruere minantes. Alia causa, propter privilegium exempcionis patrie, in qua ipsimet quantumcumque aliunde facinoroci, sive alii sic debitis et criminibus irretiti, ad illam patriam tamquam nidum facinorum pro tutamine receptari solebant; unde totum regnum in eos vindicari acclamavit.

A.D. 1399. Nono die Augustii dux cum exercitu in patriam Cestrie intravit, et ibidem in parochia de Codintoun et in aliis parochiis circumvisinis castra metanda et tentoria figenda, pratisque et segetibus non parcendo, patriamque undique depredando, vigiliasque maximas nocturnas contra insidias Cestrencium habendo, pernoctavit. Ubi presencium compiler in tentorio domini de Powys noctem illam perduxit illugubrem.

Venenum. Ubi plures in locis vicinis poculis veneno per Cestrenses infectis perierunt toxicati. Ubi etiam ex diversis aquaticis cisternis, lanceis scrutatis, et ex aliis locis abditis vasa et alia bona quam plura ibidem inventa in predam vertebantur, inventoriis interessente presencium compilatore.

In crastino, vigilia scilicet Sancti Laurencii, ad ecclesiam de Codintoun predicta, volens ibi celebrare, mane accessi; et nihil ibi, nisi omnibus asportatis hostiisque et cistis fractis, reperii.

Eodem die, dux Lancastrie cum suo exercitu Cestriam accessit. Prius tamen in quodam magno campo pulcherimo, segete pleno, bene per tria miliaria a villa, in parte orientali ejusdem, sui exercitus monstracionem, acies dirigendo ad numerum centum millia pugnatorum, posuit; et quorum clepeis veraciter notari poterat resplendere montes. Et sic castrum Cestrie ingressus, ibi et undique sibi cum suis per duodecim dies, vino regis Ricardi sufficienter reperto et per eum ducem usitato, agros depopulando, domos depredando, et breviter omnia sibi ad usum victumque et aliunde utilia seu necessaria ocupando ut propria, remansit.

De [de]capitacione  
Perkyn de  
Lye.

Tercio die adventus sui ibidem magni malefactoris reputati, Perkyn de Lye, caput amputari et in palo ultra portam orientalem affigi fecit. Iste Perkyn [qui] in forestia regia de la Mare principalis custos et ejus officii majestate plures oppressiones et extorciones pagensibus fecerat, monacalia indutus, quia sub talibus vestium transfiguracionibus plura dampnosa, ut dicebatur, perpetraverat, merito in eadem captus transigrare extitit. Unum bene scio, quod de ejus morte neminem ad tunc dolere perpendi.

Rex Ricardus in Hibernia de hujusmodi ducis adventu A.D. 1399. audiens, maxima hominum et diviciarum gloria stipatus, in magno exercitu partes Wallie apud Penbroc peciit, in festo Sancte Marie Magdalene terre applicando, dominum de Spenser ad sussitandum suos de Glanmorgane, licet sibi nequaquam parentes, in sui destinans succursum. Quo audito undeque stupefactus, quorum concilio tamen reputo non sibi fidelium, ad castrum de Conwey in Norbewallia, Northewallencium et Cestrensiarum succursu relevari sperans, ad Carmarthyn circa mediam noctem cum paucissimis vecorditer affugit. Unde duces, comites, barones, et omnes in magno exercitu secum existentes juxta illud, percusso pastore etc.,<sup>1</sup> segregatim et per devia versus Angliam transeuntes a pagencibus totaliter spoliati fuerunt. Quorum plures magnates sic ad dictum ducem vidi venire spoliatos; et quorum plures, non bene sibi credulos, custodiis tradidit diversis.

f. 162.

Dominus meus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et comes Northomerye, ex parte ducis, ad regem, in castro de Counuey existentem, tractaturi transierunt, in wygilia Assumpcionis Beate Virginis; et rex, sub condicione status sui salvandi, se apud castrum de Flente duci dicto se promisit redditurum. Et sic, traditis eis duabus coronis suis valoris cm marcarum cum aliis thesauris infinitis, se versus castrum de Flent statim transtulit prodiens. Ubi dominus dux, cum xx millibus electis ad eum veniens, aliis pro tutamine sui suorumque<sup>2</sup> hospiciarum patrieque castri et ville Cestrie a retro dimissis, ipsum regem in eodem castro de Flente,<sup>3</sup> quia sibi exire nolentem, adiit, et secum captivatum ad castrum Cestrie perduxit, ipsum ibidem secure custodie tradendo. Sicque diversos dominos secum captos, usque ad parliamentum in crastino Sancti Michaelis extunc incipiendum, tradidit custodiendos.

Capcio  
regis apud  
Flynt.<sup>1</sup> Zach. xiii. 7.<sup>2</sup> suique suorum, MS.<sup>3</sup> The following passage is added by another hand in the margin, for insertion at this place:—"Cum armatis ex una, et cum sagittariis ex altera, partibus circumvallando; illam prophetiam implendo: 'Rex albus et nobilis ad modum scuti,' etc."

A.D. 1399. Dum dux tunc Cestrie erat, iij de xxiiij senioribus Londonie, ex parte ejusdem civitatis, cum aliis l. civibus ejusdem, ad ducem veniebant, sub sigillo communi ipsius civitatem sibi recomendando et regi Ricardo diffidenciam mittendo; referentes eciam qualiter Londonienses ad abbatiam de Westmonasterio regem Ricardum querentes, audito quod illuc clam fugerat, armati conflu[x]erant; quo non invento, dominos Rogerum Walden, Nycholaum Slak, et Radulphum Selbi, regis speciales conciliarios, ibidem repertos, usque ad parliamentum ordinarunt custodiendos. Et sic dux, rege et regno per eum infra l. dies gloriose conquesto, Londoniam transiit; in cujus turri regem captivatum sub custodibus sufficientibus posuit.

Nota fortunam et ejus rotam.

Mors Unfridi ducis Glowcestrie filii.

Interim, dux misit ad Hiberniam pro filio suo seniori, Henrico, et Unfredo, filio ducis Glowcestrie, in castro de Tryme per regem Ricardum inclusis. Quibus sibi cum magno thesauro ejusdem regis transmissis, dictus Unfredus, veneno per dominum de Spenser, ut dicebatur, in Hibernia toxicatus, aput Anglesei insulam in Wallia, ad magnum regni luctum, sic veniendo moriebatur; tamen predictus ducis Lancastrie filius ad patrem venit incolumis, domino Wyllermo Bagot, infimi generis milite per regem ad alta promotus, secum invinculato ducto.

Nobiles de-pressit.

Dicti regis Ricardi condicio talis fuit, nobiles deprimere ac ignobiles exaltare, ut de ipso domino Wyllermo et de aliis infimis in magnates, et de ydeotis in pontifices quam pluribus per eum exaltatis, postea ruina, propter eorum inordinatum saltum, depressis.<sup>1</sup> Unde, de eodem rege Ricardo, ut de Archallo quondam Britonum rege, merito notari poterit; de quo sic: Archallus nobiles depressit, ignobiles exaltavit, cuique sua diviti auferebat, et infinitos thesauros coligebat; unde heroes<sup>2</sup> regni tantas injurias diucius sustinere non valentes, in ipsum insurgentes, eum deposuerunt, ac fratrem suum in regem erexerunt. Sic per omnia de isto Ricardo contingebat; [de]

Deponitur rex.

<sup>1</sup> depressi, MS.

<sup>2</sup> erohes, MS.

cujus produccione natalium, quasi non ex patre regalis A.D. 1399. prosapie, set ex matre lubricæ vite dedita, multum sinistri predicabatur in vulgo, ut de multis auditis taceam.

Item, per certos <sup>1</sup>doctores, episcopos, et alios, quorum presencium notator unus extiterat, deponendi regem Ricardum et Henricum, Lancastrie ducem, subrogandi in regem materia, et qualiter et ex quibus causis, juridice committebatur disputanda. Per quos determinatum fuit quod perjuria, sacrilegia, sodomidica, subditorum exinmanicio, populi in servitutem reduccio, vecordia, et ad regendum imbecilitas,<sup>2</sup> quibus rex Ricardus notorie fuit infectus, per capitulum, "Ad apostolice," (extractus, "De re judicata," in Sexto,) cum ibi notatis,<sup>3</sup> deponendi Ricardum cause fuerant sufficientes; et, f. 162 b. licet cedere paratus fuerat, tamen ob causas premissas ipsum fore deponendum cleri et populi autoritate, ob quam causam tunc vocabantur, pro majori securritate fuit determinatum.

Cause de-  
ponendi  
regem.

Sancti Mathei festo, ad byennium decapitacionis comitis Arundelle, in dicta turri, ubi rex Ricardus in custodia fuerat, ipsius cene presencium notator interfuit, ipsius modum et gesturam explorando, per dominum Wylllelmum Beuchamp ad hoc specialiter inductus. Ubi et quando idem rex in cena dolenter retulit confabulando sic dicens: "O Deus! hec est mirabilis terra et inconstans, quia tot reges, tot presules, totque magnates exulavit, interfecit, destruxit, et depredavit, semper discencionibus et discordiis mutuisque invidiis continue infecta et laborans." Et recitavit historias et nomina vexatorum a primeva regni inhabitatione. Videns animi sui turbacionem, et qualiter nullum sibi specialem aut famulari solitum, sed alios extranios sibi totaliter insidiantes, ipsius obsequio deputatos, de antiqua et solita ejus gloria et de mundi fallaci fortuna intra se cogitando, multum animo meo recessi turbatus.

Quodam die, in concilio per dictos doctores habito, per quosdam fuit tactum<sup>4</sup> jure sanguinis, ex persona Edmundi

<sup>1</sup> sertos MS.

<sup>2</sup> invicilitas, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Decret. Sext. II. tit. xiv. § ij.

<sup>4</sup> tactum quod MS.

A.D. 1399. comitis Lancastrie,<sup>1</sup> asserentes ipsum Edmundum regis Henrici tercii primogenitum esse, sed ipsius geniture ordine, propter ipsius fatuitatem, excluso, Edwardo suo fratre, se juniore, in hujus locum translato, sibi regni successionem directa linea debere compediri.<sup>2</sup> Quantum ad istud, ecce quid historie P. de Grw, per totam Angliam, quod Edwardus primogenitus regis Henrici erat, et quod post ipsum, ante Edmundum, Margareta, postea regina Scocie, regi predicto nata fuerat. In cronicis fratrum predicatorum Londonensium ita legi: "Natus est Edwardus, primogenitus regis Henrici, apud Westmonasterium; quem Oto legatus baptizavit:" libro vij<sup>o</sup>, capitulo xxv<sup>o</sup>, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo nono. Item, "Rex Henricus Edwardo primogenito suo dedit Vasconiam, Hiberniam, Waliam, Cestriam, et Surreiam:" libro vij., cap. xxxvij<sup>o</sup>, anno Domini millesimo cc<sup>o</sup>liij. Item, "Idibus Maii, in bello de Lewys, barones ceperunt regem Henricum et primogenitum suum Edwardum:" libro vij., cap. xxxvij<sup>o</sup>, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>lxiii<sup>o</sup>. Item, "Edwardus, primogenitus regis Henrici, cum uxore sua, adiit terram sanctam:" libro vij<sup>o</sup>, cap. xxxvij<sup>o</sup>, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>lxxj<sup>o</sup>. *Pollicronica*. Item, "Rex Henricus tenuit festum Natale Wyntonie. Eodem anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>xxxix<sup>o</sup>, regi H[enrico] et A[lianore] regine natus filius primogenitus Edwardus, xv<sup>o</sup>. kalendas Julii." Item, "Rex vocavit reginam et primogenitum suum, Edwardum, in Franciam, pro tractatu matrimonii inter ipsum et filiam regis Hi[s]panie, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>liiij<sup>o</sup>. et regis Henrici xxxvij<sup>o</sup>." Item, "Eodem anno missus est Edwardus primogenitus in magno apparatu in Hispaniam ad Alfonsum, regem Hispanie, pro dicto matrimonio." *Trevet*. Item, "Alienora regina peperit filium suum, Edwardum, apud Westmonasterium, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>xxxix<sup>o</sup>. Alienora regina peperit filiam suam Margaretam anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>xlj<sup>o</sup>. Alienora regina peperit

Seisitura  
Edwardi I.

An Ed-  
wardus vel  
Edmundus  
senior.

<sup>1</sup> Lyncollnie, MS.

<sup>2</sup> compedere, MS.

filium suum Edmundum, anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>xl<sup>o</sup>.” *Cronica* A.D. 1399. *Glooucestrie*.

In festo Sancti Michaelis, missi erant regi in turri, pro parte cleri, archiepiscopus Eboracensis et episcopus Herfordensis; pro parte dominorum temporalium superiorum, de Northomerland et de Westhomerlland comites; pro inferioribus prelati, abbas Westmonasterii et prior Cantuarie; pro baronibus, de Berkeley et de Burnel domini; pro plebeis cleri, magister Thomas Stow et Johannes Borbach; pro communitate regni, Thomas Grey et Thomas Erpingham milites, ad recipiendum cessionem regis Ricardi. Quo facto, et in crastino iidem domini, ex parte totius parlamenti clerique et regni populi, sibi legiance, fidelitatis, subiectionis, attendencie, et cujuscunque obediencie juramentum et fidelitatem totaliter reddiderunt, ipsum dissidendo, nec pro rege set pro privato domino Ricardo de Bordux, simplici milite, de cetero eundem habituri; ipsius anulo cum eis, in signum deposicionis et privacionis, adempto et cum eis ad ducem Lancastrie delato, et sibi in pleno parlamento, eodem die incepto, tradito. Eodem die, Ebrocensis archiepiscopus, facta per eum prius collacione sub hoc themate: “Posui verba mea in os tuum,”<sup>1</sup> factus per regem Ricardum vocis sue organum, in prima persona, ac si ipsemet rex loqueretur, ipsius status regii resignacionem, et quorumcunque sibi legiorum seu subditorum<sup>2</sup> ab omni subiectione, fidelitate, et homagio liberacionem, palam et publice, in scriptis redactas, in pleno legit parlamento. Quam resignacionem, requisito primitus omnium et singulorum de parlamento ad hoc concensu, palam et expresse admiserunt. Quo facto, dominus meus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, sub isto themate: “Vir dominabitur eis,”<sup>3</sup> collacionem fecit, multum ducem Lancastrie ipsiusque vires, sensus, et virtutes summe commendando, ipsum ad regnandum meritoque extollendo; ac inter cetera recitata per eundem de demeritis

Nota rote  
fallacis  
fortunam.  
f. 163.

<sup>1</sup> Is. li. 16.

<sup>2</sup> quoscunque sibi legios et subditos, MS.

<sup>3</sup> I Reg. ix. 17. “Ecce vir quem dixeram tibi; iste dominabitur populo meo.”

A.D. 1399. regis Ricardi, et presertim qualiter patrum suum, ducem Glowcestrie, dolose et sine audientia seu responsione injustissime suffocaverat in carceribus; et qualiter totam legem regni, per eum juratam, subvertere laborabat. Et sic, ut quid mora, licet seipsum deposuerat ex habundanti, ipsius depositionis sententia in scriptis redacta, consensu et auctoritate totius parliamenti, per magistrum Johannem Trevar de Powysia, Assavensem episcopum, palam, publice et solempniter lecta fuit ibidem. Et sic, vacante regno, consensu totius parliamenti, dictus dux Lancastrie, in regem erectus, per archiepiscopos predictos in sede regali ad statim intro-

**Sentencia deposicionis.** nizari optinuit; et sic in trono regali sedens, quandam protestacionem in scriptis redactam ad statim ibidem palam et publice legit, in se continentem quod, regnum Anglie videns vacare, per descensum, jure successario ex persona Henrici regis tercii sibi debito, hujusmodi successionem, quia sibi eidem debitam, peccit pariter et admisit; et quod, vigore hujusmodi successionis vel ipsius conquestus, nullatenus regni statum vel alicujus ejusdem in libertatibus, frangesiis, hereditatibus, vel quovis alio jure vel consuetudinis modo in aliquo mutare<sup>1</sup> permetteret. Et diem coronacionis sue, Sancti scilicet Edwardi proxime futurum; ac, quia per deposicionem Ricardi olim regis parliamentum, ejus nomine congregatum, fuit extinctum, ideo, ipsius novi regis nomine, novum parliamentum, in dicte coronacionis crastino, de consensu omnium, incipiendum, duxit statuenda. Fecit etiam ad tunc publice proclamari die, si quis aliqua servicia seu officia in ipsius coronacione, jure hereditario seu consuetudinario, sibi duxit vendicanda, coram senescallo suo Anglie suas in scriptis, quo jure et quare, petitiones proponeret, die Sabbati proxime sequenti, apud Westmonasterium, justiciam in omnibus habiturus.

**Successio novi regis.**

**Protestacio novi regis.**

**Solvitur parliamentum per deposicionem regis.**

In vigilia coronacionis, rex Henricus, presente domino Ricardo olim rege, apud turrin Londonie xliij creavit

<sup>1</sup> mutareve, MS.



milites; inter quos quatuor filii sui, necnon de Arundella de A.D. 1399.  
 Stafford comites, ac [de] Warw[i]co comitis filius et heres;<sup>1</sup>  
 cum quibus et aliis regni proceribus glorioso apparatu  
 ad Westmonasterium transiit. Veniente coronacionis die,  
 omnes heroes regni, in rubio, scarleto, et herminio ornanter  
 induti, ad coronacionem hujusmodi magno gaudio venerunt,  
 domino meo Cantuariensi servcium et officium coronacionis  
 expediente. Coram rege quatuor ferebantur gladii: unum  
 vaginatum, in signum militaris honoris augmenti; duos in  
 rubiis volutos ac per ligamina aurea circumcinctos<sup>2</sup> in  
 signum duplicis misericordie; quartum nudum sine mucrone,  
 in signum execucionis justicie sine rancore faciente. Primum  
 gladium de Northomerland, duos vaginatos de Somerset et  
 de Warwico comites, quartum justicie regis primogenitus,  
 princeps Wallie, sceptrum<sup>3</sup> dominus de Latemer, virgam  
 comes Westhomerland, tam in coronacione portabant, quam in  
 prandio circa eum continue stantes tenebant. Regem, ante  
 recepcionem corone, domino Cantuariensi jurare audivi quod  
 populum suum in misericordia et veritate omnino regere  
 curaret. Officiarii fuerunt isti in festo coronacionis: de  
 Arundell pincerna, de Oxonia aque lavantis ministrator,  
 comites; dominus Grey de Ruthyn mapparum dispositor.

Quare  
habet rex  
quatuor  
gladios.

Insignium  
regalium  
portatores  
f. 163 b.

In miseri-  
cordia [et]  
veritate.

Officiarii.

Dum rex erat in medio prandio, dominus Thomas  
 Dymmoc, miles, in dextrario totaliter armatus, cum gladio  
 vaginato de nigro manubrium aureum habente, aliis duobus  
 gladium nudum et lanceam ante eum defferentibus in dex-  
 trariis eciam sedentibus, aulam intravit; et per unum  
 herowd in quatuor aule partibus proclamare fecit quod, si  
 quis dicere vellet quod suus dominus ligius presens et rex  
 Anglie non erat de jure rex Anglie coronatus, quod ipse erat  
 corpore suo paratus ad probandum contrarium ad statim, seu  
 quando et ubi regi placeret. Tunc rex dixit: "Si necesse  
 fuerit, domine Thoma, in propria persona te de hoc re-  
 levabo."

Pugil regis  
in corona-  
cione.

<sup>1</sup> filium et heredem. MS.

<sup>2</sup> circum sinctos. MS.

<sup>3</sup> septrum. MS.

A.D. 1399. Hujusmodi servicium habuit idem dominus Thomas ratione manerii de Screvilby, in comitatu Lincolnie, et sic sententialiter et diffinitive obtinuit, nomine matris sue adhuc viventis, dicti manerii domine, contra dominum Balduynum Frevyl, nomine castri sui de Tamworth hoc idem tunc vendicantem. De concilio dicti domini Thome tunc fui, et hanc petitionem loco libelli sibi composui: "Graciosissime domine senescalle Anglie, suplicat humiliter Margareta Dymmoc, domina manerii de Screvilby, quatenus placeat vestre gloriose dominationi concedere dicte suplicanti quod ipsa poterit facere ad coronacionem potentissimi domini nostri regis servicium dicto manerio pertinens, per Thomam Dymmoc, suum primogenitum et heredem, tanquam dicte Margarete procuratorem in hac parte, in forma que sequitur: Petit Thomas Dymmoc, primogenitus et heres Margarete Dymmoc, domine manerii de Screvilbi, coram vobis, graciousissime domine senescalle Anglie, quatenus paciamini ipsum habere servicium manerio de Screvilbo, in coronacione cujusque regis Anglie, pertinens et debitum, quod servicium dominus Johannes Dymmoc, pater ejusdem et dicte Margarete maritus, et in jure ejusdem Margarete, fecerat in coronacione Ricardi, regis Anglie ultimi; et in cujus servicii possessione ejusdem Margarete antecessores, dicti manerii domini, a tempore conquestus hucusque extiterunt: scilicet, quod rex faciat sibi deliberare unum de melioribus dextrariis et unam de melioribus sellis domini nostri regis, cum armis, ornamentis, eorumque pertinentiis pro dicto dextrario ipsiusque equite perfectissimis, ac si ipsemet rex ad letale bellum ineundo perarmari deberet, ad effectum quod idem Thomas, in eodem dextrario sic armatus sedens, faciat quater in aula, tempore prandii, facere publice proclamari quod, si quis vellet dicere quod Henricus, presens rex Anglie et suus ligius dominus, non est de jure rex et de jure debeat in regem Anglie coronari, ipse idem Thomas paratus est ad probandum corpore suo, ubi, quando, et qualiter rex voluerit, quod ipse mentitur. Petit eciam idem Thomas feoda et remuneraciones huic servicio debita et

solvi consueta, eo peracto cum effectu, sibi tradi et liberari." A.D. 1399. Translatio ex Gallico in Latinum hic non patitur modum endictandi. Ideo lector parcere dignetur.

Isto festo ad annum preterito, dominus Ricardus nuper rex istum eundem hodie coronatum regnum exire compulit. Item, parliamentum suum sub omnibus censuris per Petrum de Bosco, pape legatum, ipsiusque auctoritate confirmari apud Westmonasterium fecit. Item, comitissam Warwicensem pro marito suo, ut premittitur, damnato supplicanti minabatur ultimo supplicio destruere, et hoc juravit, nisi ob reverenciam femine sexus, ad statim se facturum. Isto eodem coronacionis die, nepotem suum, comitem Cancie, apud f. 164. Dublineam cum magna mundi vana gloria in regem coronare Hibernie, pluresque proceres regni Anglie, ad tantam solempnitatem calide vocandos, interimere dampnaliter proposuit, ipsum comitem et alios juvenes per ipsum, ut premittitur, exaltatos cum eorum possessionibus ditare captando. Sed Roboe Salamonis filio, consilium juvenum quia insecuto, regnum Israel amittenti iste Ricardus merito poterit cum suis juvenibus consialiariis assimilari: iij. Regum, xij. capitulo.

Consilium  
juvenum.

Coronacionis in crastino, primo scilicet die novi regis parliamenti, plebei suum locutorem, dominum Johannem Cheyny, militem, regi presentarunt. Rex ab omnibus dominis spiritualibus et temporalibus homagium ligium recepit. Item, parliamentum ultimum domini Ricardi tunc regis penitus fuit revocatum; et hoc die Martis contingente. Item, die Mercurii sequenti, Henricum, primogenitum suum, per quinque insignia, scilicet: per virge auree tradicionem, per osculum, per circulum, per anulum, et per sue creacionis literas, in principem erexit Walie. Item, cause revocacionis dicti parliamenti declarate fuerant: propter terrores et minas paribus regni tunc, si regis voto non parerent, inflictas; secundo, propter vim armatam regi tunc assistencium in parlamento fulminatam; tercio, quia comitatus, civitates, et burghi liberam eleccionem, in creacione plebeiorum parla-

Quinque  
sunt in-  
signia prin-  
cipatus.

A.D. 1399. menti, non habuerant. Item, quod parliamentum dicti Ricardi, undecimo anno, totum per ducem Glowcestrie et comitem Arundelle causatum, sue firmitatis vires haberet. Item, quod quilibet per dicti Ricardi ultimum parliamentum aliquo suo jure privatus ipso facto ad sua esset restituendus. Rexque primogenito suo principatum Wallie, ducatum Cornubie ad tunc etiam cum comitatu Cestrie concessit pariterque contulit.

Johannes Halle, familiaris ducis Northfolchie, quia ducis Glocestrie morti consensiendo interfuit, per parliamentum dampnatus, trahitur, suspenditur, ac, ejus visceribus extractis et coram eo crematis, adhuc vivus decapitatur et quadripartitus; cujus quarta pars, dextram manum contingens, ultra pontem Londoniensem in palo ponitur.

Istius parliamenti tempore, duo regis valecti, Londoniis cenantes, in v ovis, quibus eis serviebatur, apertissimas hominum facies, in omnibus similitudinem continentes, invenerunt, que loco crinium habuerunt albedinem a faciebus separatam ultra verticem coagulata et ad mentum per fauces descendente; quorum unum vidi.

Dominus Ricardus nuper rex, post ejus depositionem, circa medie noctis obscurissime silentium, per Thamesim evectus, ululando et cum clamore se natum fuisse condoluit. Cui unus miles ibi existens dixit sibi: "Cogites quod eodem modo comitem Arundelle per omnia malignissime tractasti."

Dominus meus Cantuariensis, ab exilio reversus et per papam ad ecclesiam suam contra Rogerum Walden restitutus, petiit a parlamento quod posset bona ejusdem Rogeri, ubicunque inventa, pro fructibus et aliis ipsius bonis exilii sui tempore<sup>1</sup> per eum perceptis, distringere, et sic sua debita exigere et relevare; quod concessum fuit sibi. Et verum est quod dominus Ricardus dederat eidem Rogero omnia superlectilia et alia quecumque ejusdem Thome, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, utensilia, quia confiscata, ut asseruit, ad

<sup>1</sup> temperie. MS.

valorem vj m. marcarum eciam, preter maneriorum ecclesie A.D. 1399. Cantuariensis instauraciones; que omnia dictus Rogerus Walden, in archiepiscopum subrogatus, habuit, et ocupavit. De quibus comes Somerset, audito de adventu dicti Thome in regnum, vj carucatas, per Walden versus castrum de Saltwod pro tutamine dispositas, ab ipsius familiaribus abstulit; que omnia dicto Thome postea liberavit. De quibus inter cetera, festo Nativitatis Beate Virginis, modicum ante istud parlamentum, quando fui in prandio cum dicto domino meo reverso apud Lamhyth, vidi qualiter dictus Rogerus ex aularum et f. 164 b. camerarum ornamentis quibuscunque, que dicti domini Thome erant, et sibi in predam versis, arma dicti domini Thome, scilicet comitatus Arundelle cum circumferencia, quia ipsius nobilis comitis filius erat, subtulerat et exuerat, et sua propria: de rubio, cum ligamine blodio et una merinula aurea, loco ipsorum insuta, subrogaverat et consuerat. Sed modicum valuerunt ibi, quia, eis sublatis, idem dominus Thomas iterato propria textorum artis subtilitate armaque et insignia restituit; dictique Rogeri, ut premittitur, sublata tunc vidi sub scannis, in derisum habita, jacere, et per famulos extra fenestras proici pariter et jactari. Vidi eciam, quando idem Rogerus venit ad palacium domini episcopi Londoniensis, a domino duce, jam rege, et a dicto domino Thoma gratiam petiturus, quam quoad ipsius vitam obtinuit; et sic Thomas et Rogerus, si fas est dicere, duo archiepiscopi in una ecclesia, quasi duo capita in uno corpore, Rogerus scilicet tunc per papam in possessione juris, et dominus Thomas, quia nondum per papam restitutus, per seculi tamen potestatem in possessione facti, que prevaluit in omnibus, quia sibi soli crucis Cantuariensis, sibi a dicto Rogero remisit, paruit in omnibus delacio. Iste Rogerus vir fuit modestus, pius, et affabilis, verba utilia et composita proferens, magis militaribus et mundialibus negociis quam clericalibus aut liberalibus imbutus. Primo, regis Ricardi Gallicus thesaurarius, postea ejus secretarius, et demum Anglie thesaurarius cjsque principalis consiliarius. Quem villa Walden in

A.D. 1399. comitatu Essexie ex carnificis filio ad premissa, licet per saltum nimis festinanter, sublimavit. Unde poete verificatur  
 Versus  
 prophecie. proverbium: "Festinata substancia cito minuetur;" et alias, "Nemo repente fit summus." Unde versus:—

"Funere detecto Thomas antistes abibit,  
 Et lapis erectus ad terram funditus ibit."

"Funere detecto," scilicet quia rex Ricardus continue in sompnis habuit caput comitis Arundel corpori fore restitutum; unde funus fecit detegi. "Thomas antistes abibit;" i.e. exilium ejusdem Thome. "Et lapis erectus," et cetera: i.e. Walden, quod est ereccio lapidum. Et est antiqua prophecia.

Plebei petiverunt a rege, in pleno parlamento, quod nichil indigne alicui conferret, et presertim de hiis que ad coronam pertinebant; et tunc episcopus Assavensis in hec verba prorupit: "Ista peticio incivilis est et injusta, quia concludit ad regis tenacitatem, quod omni regalitati contrarium existit, cui potius largitatis affluencia convenire denoscitur. Concludit eciam quod subditi suum regem a sui innata bonitate restringerent; que mihi non videntur honesta. Ideo non ipse, sed injuste et indigne petens, veniat potius puniendus." Et hec responsio placuit mihi, propter le Codex: "De petitionibus, bonorum sublatiis," lex ij.<sup>1</sup>

Item, ordinatum fuit quod domini regni pannorum seu signorum et presertim capiciorum sectam aut liberatum de cetero alicui, nisi familiaribus continue cum eis commorantibus, non conferrent, propter plures sediciones per ea in regno causatas.

Item, licet omnes alii, in ultimo parlamento regis Ricardi lesi, essent ipso jure ad sua restituti, comes tamen Warwic non nisi per specialem gratiam, pro eo quod confessus fuerat se cum duce Glowcestrie et comite Arundell proditorie contra regem insurrexisse.

Item, rex transtulit corpus ducis Glowcestrie a loco ubi, in

<sup>1</sup> Codex, x. tit. xij. l. ij.

sui vilipendium, in parte australi ecclesie, remotius a regi- A.D. 1399.  
bus ipsum Richardus sepeliri fecerat, et in loco, per ipsum  
in vita disposito, inter feretrum Sancti Edwardi et suorum f. 165.  
tumbas parentum, cum sua uxore, modicum ante defuncta,  
in magna sepulture solempnitate collocavit. Ubi et quando,  
bonam predicationem audiui sub isto themate: "Memorare Nota de  
novissima tua." Et dividebat in iij partes: primo, memorare sermone.  
vite tue; secundo, vilicacionis tue; tercio, finis tui. Iterato,  
primam partem in tria: memorare vite tue in ingressu, in  
progressu, in egressu. Sicut eciam secundam partem:  
qualiter in vilicacionem intrasti; secundo, qualiter quesisti;  
tercio, qualiter expendisti. Sic eciam terciam, scilicet me-  
morare finis: scilicet, qualiter ad iudicium citaberis;  
secundo, qualiter rimaberis; tercio, qualiter judicaberis. Et  
tunc finitum est parlamentum.

Hiis diebus, dictus dominus meus Cantuariensis contulit Kemsyng.  
mihi bonam ecclesiam de Kemsynge, cum capella sua de Landogy.  
Seol, in Cancia; et bonam prebendam de Landoky,<sup>2</sup> in  
ecclesia collegiata de Aberguyli. Et ecclesiam de Scherys-  
newtone,<sup>3</sup> in inferiori Wencia, quam ex indulgencia sedis  
apostolice cum aliis beneficiis curatis ocupaveram, consobri-  
no meo domino Thome ap Adam ap Wylllelmi de Weloc, et  
ecclesiam suam de Panteke<sup>4</sup> alii cognato meo, domino Matheo  
ap Hoel, conferri et per eos haberi optinui.

Eciam impetravi domino Jacobo de Bercley, domino de Nota de  
Raglone, et Elizabethhe, uxori sue et suis heredibus, sub magna Raglone.  
carta regis, dictum dominium et alia eorum dominia sub  
gloriosa fortuna per regem confirmari.

Tunc eciam vidi cum rege mirabilis condicionis leporarium, Nota de  
quia, domino suo comite Cancie defuncto, ex proprio sensu ad leporario.  
regem Ricardum, quem prius nunquam viderat, in locis re-  
motis existentem accessit; et cum eo semper lateri suo  
ubicunque diverteret, staret, sive jaceret, rigido ac si leonino

<sup>1</sup> Eccles. vii. 40.<sup>2</sup> Llandogo, co. Monm.<sup>3</sup> Shire-Newton, co. Monm.<sup>4</sup> Panteague, co. Monm.

A.D. 1399. vultu continue, quousque idem rex, circa mediam noctem, ab exercitu suo latenter et vecorditer, ut premititur, fugerat, semper assistebat; et tunc, ipso relicto, proprio eciam sensu, solus sine aliquo ducente directe venit a Caermerthyn Solopiam ad Lancastrie ducem, jam regem, in monasterio cum exercitu tunc existentem, me vidente, se sibi, quem prius non viderat, humillimo et hilarissimo et gaudenti vultu inclinando. Cujus cum condicionem dux audierat, credens per hoc bona sibi pronosticari, eum libentissime et gaudenter recepit, ipsum super lectum suum dormire permittendo. Et post depositionem regis Ricardi, ad ipsum idem leporarius ductus, eum alio modo quam unum privatum sibi incognitum respicere non curavit; quod idem Ricardus depositus dolenter ferebat.<sup>1</sup>

Nota de vitulis.

Hiis diebus, Usce nascebatur vitulus habens duas caudas, duo capita, quatuor oculos, et quatuor aures. Talem eciam vidi, tempore juventutis mee, in parochia de Lankenyo, in domo cujusdam mulieris, Lluu vez Watkyn vocate, abortum.

Nota de monoculo.

Nascitur eciam, in parochia de Lanpadok, unus puer masculus cum uno oculo tantum in fronte situato.

A.D. 1400.

In vigilia Epiphanie, comites de Kent de Huntington et de Sarum calide et dolose regem novum interficere, et depositum a carceribus restituere, clam armata et magna manu potissime, quia ducum status et possessiones dampnatorum eis collatas amiserant, satagentes versus castrum de Wyndesor, simulando se ibidem hastiludia exercere, et sic, captato introitu, regem et filios ac alios sibi speciales assistentes trucidare proponebant. Sed rex precautus subito Londoniam pro tutamine transivit. Unde de Kent et de Sarum comites ad comitatum Cestrie, pro eorum sibi ad hoc insurgencium favore et auxilio habendis, per Cyrencestriam transierunt;

<sup>1</sup> In the upper margin of the MS. are written these verses:—

“Qui regis, intende rotam fortune cavende.

Hew! per auriiloquos victus cupidosque bilingues

Ecce quidem procerus, regum Rychard recolendus.

Hew! cui servierat, fraude peremptus erat.”

} Rex Ricardus  
} secundus.



ubi, in crastino Epiphanie, plebeiorum pagensium tumultu A.D. 1400. decapitati fuerunt. Et plures cum eis inventi, Oxoniam ducti, ibi decapitati extiterunt; quorum cadavera, partita ad f. 165 b. modum ferinarum carniū venacione occupatarum, partim in sacculis, partim inter duos super humeros in baculis, Londoniam deferri et postea sale condiri vidi. Item, comes Hundyngdon per Essexem ad Franciam fugere volens, per pagences captus, in eodem loco quo et dux Glowcestrie se Ricardo nuper regi reddidit, per plebeyos et mecanicos decapitatur. De quibus rex domino meo Cantuariensi scripsit; unde ipse sub isto themate: "Nuncio vobis magnum gaudium," per modum sermonis, hoc clero et populo Londoniis publicavit, et, cantato ymno, "Te deum laudamus," Deo regraciando per civitatem cum solemni transivit processione.

Postmodum, plures alii, inter quos magister Ricardus Maudelen, Wylylmus Ferby, clerici, Thomas Schelly et Barnabas Broccas, milites, tracti, suspensi, demum quia hujusmodi facinoris conscii et fautores decapitabantur.

Jam hii in quibus Ricardus nuper rex fiduciam habuit relevaminis ceciderunt. Quo audito, magis usque ad sui mortem lugendo condoluit, in castro de Pomffret catenis ligato, et victualium penuria domino N. Swynford ipsum tormentante, sibi ultimo die Februarii miserabiliter con-  
Mors Ricardi.

In coronacione istius domini, tria regalitatis insignia tria sibi infortunia portentebant. Primo, in processione, unum de coronacionis sotularibus perdidit; unde et primo plebei contra ipsum insurgentes ipsum post per totam vitam suam detestabantur: secundo, unum de calcaribus aureis ab eo cecidit; unde et militares, secundo, sibi rebellando adversabantur: tercio, in prandio subitus venti impetus coronam a capite deposuit; unde, tercio et finaliter, a regno depositus et per regem Henricum supplantatus fuit.

<sup>1</sup> More correctly: "Evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum." Luc. ii. 10.

A.D. 1400. Nunc Ricarde, vale! ymmo rex, si fas est dicere, valentissime; cum post mortem laudare sit cuique, si cum Deo et populi tui relevamine acta tua disposuisses, merito laudanda. Sed, quamvis cum Salamone dapsilis, cum Absalone pulcher, cum Assuero gloriosus, cum Belino magno precellens edificator existens, ad modum Cosdre regis Persarum in manus Eraclii, sic in medio glorie tue, rota labente fortune, in manus ducis Henrici miserrime, cum interna populi tui malediccione, cecidisti.

Interim, dominus de Spenser, dominus de Glanmorgan, quia ejusdem prodicionis conscius et fautor, Bristolie per mecanicos vilissime decapitatur. Quorum sic ruencium capita, in palis ultra pontem Londoniensem fixa, aliquamdiu publice patebant. Sed, quia omnia ista plebeiorum sola ferocitate extiterunt perpetrata, timeo quod gladii possessionem, eis jam tolleratam, contra ordinis rationem in dominos magis in futurum vibrare causabuntur.

Item, omnes albe carte, in quibus per totam Angliam regni subditi regi Ricardo sibi sub sigillis suis se ad votum submiserunt, ac si novus conquestus regni esset factus, in summitate lancearum publice delate Londoniam, cremate fuerunt, cum suorum infinitate sigillorum.

Episcopus Norwycensis, dicti domini de Spenser patruus, quia de dicta prodicione accusatus, non temporalium carceribus sed domini mei Cantuariensis custodie traditur, judicium expectaturus, ob reverenciam pontificalis dignitatis. Sed postea rex ipsum ecclesie et statui simpliciter restituit.

Episcopus Karliencis, nuper monachus Westmonasteriensis, de dicta prodicione coram regis justiciariis per duodenam laycorum convictus et dampnatus, in turri Londoniensi aliquamdiu carcerum catenatus langoribus cruciatus, alio enim in ejus episcopatu subrogato, suo pristino monachaliter victurus<sup>1</sup> restituitur monasterio, licet Millatenci intitulatus pontificatu.

<sup>1</sup> viviturus. MS.

Isto anno, dominus meus Cantuariensis, suo convocato A.D. 1400. clero, eis<sup>1</sup> lamentabiliter proposuit qualiter temporales libertates ecclesie Anglicane, et presertim in capiendo, carcerando, et indeferenter quasi laicos episcopos judicando, violare non formidant. "Vere, domine," dixi, "discurrendo per corpus juris et cronicas, plus crudelitatis invenitur in Anglia prelati f. 166. quam in tota Cristianitate fuisse irrogatum." Allegavi, capitulum: "Sicut dignum,"<sup>2</sup> de homicidio, et plura alia, et breviter, quoad casum presentem, scilicet episcopos incarcerando, Clementinam: "Si quis suadente," de penis,<sup>3</sup> que, propter incarcerationem episcopi Lychfeldensis, tempore Edwardi secundi regis Anglie, emanavit. Dominus Cantuariensis tunc retulit qualiter jam tarde Symon Yslep, predecessor suus, videns suffraganeum suum, Wyllelmum Lyle, tunc Eliencem episcopum, in aula Westmonasterienci criminaliter tractum ante regis justiciariorum stare tribunal, cepit eum per manum dextram, sic dicendo: "Subditus meus es. In vetito stas examine coram non tuo iudice. Veni mecum!" Et sic, invito justiciario, eum secum abduxit. Episcopus tamen, in Anglia non audens remanere, ad curiam Romanam transiit, et ibi illum justiciarium excommunicari, ac ipsum interim mortuum ecclesiastica sepultura exui et in foveam proici, obtinuit. Libertas ecclesie, ecce!

Audito quod Francia et Scocia Angliam invadere se parabant, rex, dominos spirituales et temporales solum collectando, Parcitur plebeis. pepercit plebeis.

Corpus domini Ricardi, nuper regis Anglie, ad ecclesiam Sancti Pauli Londoniensem, non velata facie sed publice cuique ostensa, ducitur; ubi exequiis ea nocte et in crastino missa habitis, apud Langlei inter fratres tumilatur. O deus! quantas millenas marcas circa vane glorie sepulturas, sibi et uxoribus suis inter reges Westmonasterii faciendas, expendit. Contra tamen hujusmodi propositum fortuna disponit contrarium.

<sup>1</sup> ejus. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Decret. Greg. ix., lib. v., tit. xii. § vi.

<sup>3</sup> Decret. Clement. lib. v., tit. viii., § i.

A.D. 1400. Moritur frater Wyllylmus Botsame, episcopus Roffensis, prius Landavensis, et in ejus locum erigitur magister Johannes Botsam, domini mei Cantuariensis cancellarius. Moritur eciam graciosus vir, Johannes ap Gr[uffyd], abbas de Lanterneane, qui monasterium suum, totaliter casuate crematum, annis in paucis mirabiliter funditus restauravit. Cui summe prudencie vir, Johannes ap Hoel, ejusdem monasterii prior, successit.

Ista Quadragesima, civitatis Londoniencis pueri, sepius ad millia congregati reges inter se erigendo, ad modum bellicosum, juxta vires eorundem, mutuo pugnabant; unde plures ictibus percussi, pedibus calcati, locorumque artitudine oppressi, moriebantur, ad magnum populi mirum quid hoc pronosticaret; credo quod pestilenciam, anno sequenti contingentem, in qua pro majori parte ab hac luce transierunt. Tamen ab hujusmodi eorum confluctibus, quousque rex sub gravibus minis eorum parentibus et magistris hoc cohibere scripserat, restringi non poterant.

Contulit mihi princeps, tercio die mensis Mai, unam prebendam in ecclesia Bangorensi. Item, quarto die istius mensis, scilicet Maii, domino Henrico rege in aula sua infra turrim Londoniensem regali more condecenter pro tribunali sedente, dominus de Morlei, qui alias comitem Sarum de prodicione accusaverat, eo quod, die ad duellandum eis assignato, idem comes tercio non satisfecerat, ipsum, juxta formam accusacionis, proditorem adjudicari et in expensis suos fidejussores condempnari peciit. Ymmo nomine suo, licet capellanus, quia ipse comes, ut premititur, mortuus fuit, sentencialiter et diffinitive pecii. Pars adversa exceptit de morte ante diem indictam scisti. Unde replicavi quod proditorie insurgendo mortem sibi causavit, et sic aggressu proprio ruit. Per cy: in lege, "Si decesserit," [in titulo] "Qui satisfacere cogantur," in Justiniani operibus; et, "Si homo scisti," lex, "Si eum;"<sup>2</sup> titulus, "Si quis cau-

<sup>1</sup> Digest. II. tit. viij. l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. tit. ix. l. 10.

cionibus;”<sup>1</sup> et, “Judicatum solvi,” lex, “Judicatum;”<sup>2</sup> et A.D. 1400. Codex, “De custodia reorum,” lex, “Ad Commentariensem.”<sup>3</sup> Et breviter, contra fidejussores dicti comitis pars mea obtentum f. 166 b. habuit, me in c. solidis et duodecim virgatis scarleti remunerando.

Hoc anno, scilicet Domini mcccc°, per totam Angliam magna et presertim innoscentum regnavit pestilencia, subito quasi irruens et animas tollens. Moritur dominus Johannes de Usk, abbas de Certeseia, cum xiiij monachis. Iste bone memorie in theologia inceptor, vir utique maxime sanctitatis, Beate Virginis obsequius incistendo, die Nativitatis ejusdem Virginis, ad hoc per eum, quia in ejus parochia natum et in lavacro baptizatum aput Usk, sub eodem festo semper preoptatum, suum Domino direxit spiritum. Utinam ejus vie consors fieri mererer! In transitu suo, secum fui, et benedictionem suam, de quo gaudeo, recepi sub hiis verbis: “Illam benedictionem, quam Beata Virgo filio suo Domino Ihesu et quam Isaac filio suo Jacob contulerunt, tibi confero.” Iste abbas, per Beatam Virginem in sopore suo consolatus, recte in ipso transitu suo quasi fratribus suis et mihi dixit: “Inimicus dedit mihi insidias; sed benedicta Virgo Maria, cum duabus aliis dominabus mihi in succursum superveniens, inimicum penitus expulit, me consolando quod de cetero me non turbaret, et quod ipsa cum aliis dominabus a me non recederet, quousque spiritum meum secum salvum haberet.” Et quasi levis sopor ipsum tunc occupavit. Et quidam frater suus, Wyllylmus Burtoun, excitavit eum, dicens sibi: “Sitis forti animo, quia bene valebitis!” Respondit abbas: “Benedictus Deus! bene valebo. Tace et audi.” Dixit monachus: “Quid audiam?” “Multitudinem angelorum cum summa melodia canencium, ‘Veni, benedicta fili patris celestis, <sup>Moritur abbas de Certeseia.</sup> posside regnum ejus in eternam tibi hereditatem.’” Tunc

<sup>1</sup> Digest II. tit. xj.

<sup>2</sup> Digest. XLVI. tit. vij. l. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. ix. tit. iv. l. 4. The references are thus quoted in the MS. “per cy. in l. si decesserit, q. sa. co. in. j. op. et si ho. scisti. l. si eum. tt. si quis cauc. et iudi. sol. l. iudi<sup>tum</sup>. et c. de cus. r. l. ad commentariensem.”

A.D. 1400. ille: "Non audio. Utinam dignus audire essem!" Et sic spiritum, sine aliquali turbacionis motu, direxit ad Dominum.

Eodem anno, rex cum magno et glorioso exercitu transiit in Scociam ad Scotorum ferocitatem domandam. Ipsi tamen propria rura, domos, et predia, ne regi nostro aliquid cederet, in refugium preveniendo, devastarunt et denudarunt; ac, se delitentes ad frutices ac deviarum cavernarum et nemorum abdita, a facie regis se subtraxerunt. Tamen, ex hujusmodi absconditis sepius exeuntes, in desertis deviis ac diversoriis nostratum quam plures interfecerunt et captivarunt, plus nobis quam nos eis dampni inferendo.

Rex, in festo Decollacionis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, in Angliam rediit, et, audito aput Leicestriam qualiter Oenus, dominus de Glendordee, cum Northe-Walencibus eundem Oenum principem erigentibus, rebellando hostiliter insurrexerat, ac castra quam plura occupaverat, burgas<sup>1</sup> ubique per Anglicos inter eos inhabitatas, ipsas depredando et Anglicos profugando, cremaverat, sui armata juventute collecta, suas bellicosas acies in Northe-Waliam direxit; quibus edomatis et deportatis, dictus eorum princeps cum septem aliis tantum rupibus et cavernis per annum quasi delituit. Rex cum aliis se paci reddentibus paucissimos interimendo misericorditer egit, ipsorum tamen principaliores secum Salopiam ducens captivos. Et postmodo, sub condicione alios adhuc in Snowdonia et aliunde rebellantes prosequendi et capiendi, dimisit eosdem.

A.D. 1402. Circa festum Beate Fidis, comes Northomerland et filius suus, dominus Henricus Perci, cum Scotis Angliam post recessum regis invadentibus, habuerunt magnum conflictum; unde c. milites et armigeros ex Scotis captivando et ceteros in fugam propellendo. Causa victorie fuit ista: Anglici garciones, a tergo dominorum suorum tempore pugne equis insedentes, caute et optime hostili dolo unanimiter clamabant:  
f. 167. "Scoti fugiunt! Scoti fugiunt!" Hoc Scoti in belli fronte

<sup>1</sup> burgus. MS.

pugnantes nimium timendo, dum rei veritatem exploraturi a A.D. 1402. tergo respicerent, geminatis ictibus in auribus et collis malleis Bonus dolus contra hostes. pulsati ceciderunt.

Ex parte regis hujusmodi breve presencium compilatori A.D. 1400. directum extitit: "Rex dilecto sibi M. A. U., legum doctori, salutem. Nonnulla dubia in scriptis, que statum et honorem Breve regium. regni nostri concernunt, vobis mittimus sub pede sigilli nostri, rogantes attentius et firmiter injungentes ut, hiis cum bona et matura deliberacione inspectis, ac materia eorundem plenius intellecta, vestrum sanum consilium et responsum in scriptis, vos in singulis per jura fundantes, nobis aut consilio nostro, citra festum Sancti Michaelis proxime futurum, omni excusacione postposita, et absque difficultatis obstaculo, transmittatis. Et ulterius, propter diversas opiniones aliorum juris peritorum que forsitan expedicionem negotii illius poterunt retardare, volumus et mandamus quod in propria persona vestra sitis coram dicto consilio nostro, aput Westmonasterium, in octabis festi predicti, una cum hiis qui vobiscum in examine predicto studiose concurrent, vestrum in premissis ibidem consilium inpensuri, et finem ac conclusionem super dictis opinionibus imposituri. Et hoc, sub fide qua nobis tenemini, et sicut honorem et conservacionem status regni nostri diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso aput Westmonasterium, xij<sup>o</sup> die Septembris, anno regni nostri primo."

Sequuntur questiones super articulis tangentibus matri- Questiones inter Anglie et Francie regna. monium initum inter dominum Ricardum, nuper regem Anglie, et dominam Isabellam, filiam regis Francie. Et primo, motiva et cause super matrimonio hujusmodi contrahendo sequuntur.

In tractatu nuper habito racione matrimonii inter Ricardum, Factum. regem Anglie, et filiam regis Francie, spe concepta quod grandia et communia innumerabilia scandala, mala, inconveniencie, dampna, et effusio sanguinis humani, que, racione discordiarum et guerrarum inter regna, etc., hactenus evenerunt, cessent in posterum; et quod melius et celerius perveniri valeat ad bonas conclusiones, pacem, et concordiam inter

A.D. 1400. regna predicta, longe futuris temporibus duraturas; ac inter reges illos et successores suos vinculum affinitatis existere; necnon inter regna sua et eorum subditos amicitia et conversacio mirifice enutrir: fuerat inter cetera concordatum quod dicta regina dicto Ricardo debet matrimonialiter copulari, et quod rex Francie, contemplacione dicti maritagii, solveret dicto regi Ricardo octogintos mille francos; unde soluti fuerant quingenti mille franci.

Factum. Item, concordatum erat quod, si post solemnizacionem dicti matrimonii rex Anglie discesserit sine liberis de dicto matrimonio procreatis, et quod dicta regina ipsum regem super-vixerit, ipsa existente infra etatem vel etate xij annorum plenarie non completorum, summa quingentorum mille francorum, aut illud quod fuerit solutum de dicta majori summa ultra summam trecentorum mille francorum, deberet restitui prefate regine: ad quod dictus rex Anglie obligavit se et heredes et successores suos et habentes causam ac omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia, tunc presenciam et futura, consensu tamen parlamenti ad hoc non interveniente.

Questio. Numquid rex Anglie modernus ex hoc fuerit obligatus per dominum regem Ricardum, et teneatur ad restitutionem pecunie sic recepte ultra trecenta<sup>1</sup> millia francorum, attento quod, in obligacione antedicta per regem Ricardum, ut pre-

Questio. mittitur, facta, regnum non prestiterit suum consensum? Et, si non, numquid cause et suggestiones in tractatu matrimonii expresse, ac superius enarrate, que utilitatem publicam utriusque regni videntur respicere, regem modernum ad restitutionem dicte pecunie poterunt astringere et sufficienter obligare?

f. 167 b. Factum. Item, vigore tractatus, dominus noster rex modernus, tempore quo fuerat comes Derbeie, et alii domini proximiores de regali sanguine omnes simul et singuli, pro se et particulariter propriis heredibus et successoribus et habentibus causam, per suas litteras promiserunt, ex certa sua sciencia et

<sup>1</sup> tria. MS.



plenaria voluntate, quod, si dictus rex Ricardus decederet A.D. 1400. ante consummacionem dicti maritagii, dicta regina, libera et soluta ab omnibus ligamentis et impedimentis matrimonii et aliis obligacionibus quibuscunque, deberet plene restitui, cum omnibus jocalibus et bonis suis, regi Francie, patri suo, heredi et successori suo, obligantes et expresse ypothecantes dictus comes et alii domini supradicti se ipsos, heredes, et successores eorum predictos et habentes causam, et eorum bona quecunque mobilia et immobilia, tunc presencia et futura, pro premissis et quolibet eorum tenendis et servandis, fiendis, et plenarie adimplendis, juxta formam et tenorem dictarum litterarum obligatarum et tractatus de et super maritagio supradicto.

Queritur, quomodo debet intelligi de bonis hujusmodi, an Questio. de illis duntaxat que cum regina fuerant liberata, an tam illa quam alia ex tunc hactenus acquisita per eam; et an ducenta millia francorum, de quibus supra in tractatu matrimonii supradicti fit mencio, sub et in bonis hujusmodi debeant comprehendi?

Sequuntur questiones super aliis articulis tangentibus tres miliones scutorum per regem Francie regi Anglie solvendorum.

Olim, in tractatu pacis finalis inter Johannem, regem Factum. Francie, et Edwardum, regem Anglie, fuerat inter cetera concordatum quod rex Francie solveret regi Anglie, vel suo deputato, tres miliones scutorum auri, certis terminis limitatis; ad quamolucionem faciendam rex Francie, apud Calisias, dum erat in potestate regis Anglie, obligavit se et heredes suos, et eorum bona, mobilia et immobilia. Unde medietas restat solvenda.

Numquid rex Anglie modernus poterit juste petere de rege Questio. Francie moderno hujusmodi pecuniam non solutam. Et, si non, an competat accio executoribus regis Edwardi; et, Questio. si sic, numquid rex Anglie modernus, jure directo et utili ab executoribus regis Edwardi sibi cesso, tanquam cessionarius poterit eandem pecuniam petere?

A.D. 1400.      Sequitur tenor effectus literarum dicti regis Francie super  
 Litere.      premissis articulis, in quibus cause tractatus hujusmodi continentur: “Johannes dei gracia rex Francie omnibus et singulis presentibus et futuris, notum vobis facimus per presentes quod, super omnibus dissencionibus et discordiis quibuscunque, motis inter nos, pro nobis et pro omnibus illis ad quos pertinet ex una parte, et regem Anglie et omnes illos quos tangere poterit ex altera parte, pro bono pacis, extitit concordatum, tali die et tali loco, modo qui sequitur: In primo quod rex Anglie habebit talia castra et talia loca, etc. Item, concordatum est quod rex Francie solvet regi Anglie, vel deputato suo, tria millia millium scutorum auri certis terminis, etc.”

Factum.      Item, ex quo rex Francie, captus in guerris per regem Anglie, in concordia pacis finalis obligavit se et heredes suos ad solvendum regi Anglie tres milliones, dum idem rex Francie Calesius in potestate regis Anglie erat, non facta mencione in litteris dicte concordie quod illa solutio fieret  
 Questio.      ratione finantie redemptionis ejusdem regis Francie, numquid illa obligatio viciatur ex eo quod pretenditur metum intervenisse, non obstante quod notorium sit toti mundo quod summa pecunie pro redemptione seu financia debebatur hujusmodi?

Factum.      Post dictam obligationem prefatus rex Francie, apud Bolaniam, in sua libertate, ut asseruit, constitutus, in litteris suis recitavit illum articulum, in quo cavetur quod rex Francie solveret regi Anglie, vel deputato suo, dictam summam terminis, ut premititur, limitatis; et subsequenter, in eisdem litteris, narrat se solvisse carissimo fratri suo, regi Anglie, certam summam pecunie, in parte solutionis dicte majoris summe; et in illis litteris obligavit se et heredes suos et eorum bona quecunque ad solvendum dicto fratri suo residuum non solutum, volens quod omnes alie obligationes in hac parte prius facte pro nullo penitus habeantur.

Questio.      Queritur sicut prius in dicto articulo, et presertim numquid hec secunda obligatio regis Francie facta Bolonie, de predicta

pecunia solvenda regi Anglie, videatur primam obligationem A.D. 1400. factam regi Anglie tollere seu ipsam quovismodo novare, cum de ipsius consensu expresse circa hoc non appareat per scripturam.

Item, in alio articulo in eodem tractatu expresse continetur *Factum*. quod, rege Francie certa castra etc. restituente, simili modo rex Anglie certa castra alia, per se et suos occupata, teneatur restituere.

Numquid, si appareat quod rex Francie castra etc. restituerit, ac premissa omnia pro parte sua adimpleverit, at rex Anglie promissa per eum non perfecerit, solucio pecunie promisse per regem Francie regi Anglie, prout in tractatu continetur, juste poterit denegari? *Questio*.

Item, in alio articulo in tractatu [de] quo supra fit mencio *Factum*. continetur quod rex Francie certa castra promisit regi Anglie liberare, quoque, post liberacionem hujusmodi, certas renunciaciones super certis juribus et resorto ac aliis faceret; necnon literas super hujusmodi renunciacione et dimissione, sigillo suo sigillatas, certo termino, aput Bruges, regi Anglie aut deputatis suis faceret liberari realiter et tradi. Et rex Anglie promisit simili modo certa castra liberare ac juri, quoad coronam Francie, renunciare, etc.

Si appareat quod rex Francie ex parte sua, predictis die et loco, premissa omnia paratus erat adimplere; nec appareat quod rex Anglie promissa per eum in hac parte perfecit, seu quod nuncios suos ad Bruges in termino limitato transmiserit, qui promissa et oblata per regem Francie poterant acceptare et promissa per regem Anglie eciam adimplere—numquid solucio pecunie, ut premittitur, per regem Francie regi Anglie promisse, propter negligenciam seu defectum dicti regis Anglie, juste poterit denegari?

Item, si predicta summa de predictis tribus millionibus non soluta domino nostro regi Anglie debeatur, jure proprio seu per executores regis Edwardi cesso etc., et ita contigerit quod idem dominus rex teneatur restituere domine regine, filie regis Francie, ducenta millia francorum, de quibus supra fit

A.D. 1400. mencio, numquid de summis hujusmodi, hinc inde petitis et debitis, debeat de jure fieri compensacio, licet dicta regina, in hoc casu, censeatur esse tertia persona, cui fienda est restitucio seu solucio? Quia, quamvis restitucio ducentorum mille francorum referatur ad ipsam reginam, obligacio tamen originaliter fuit contracta et radicata inter Ricardum, regem Anglie, et Karolum, nunc regem Francie. Et sic videtur quod rex Anglie modernus, jure proprio seu cesso etc., inter easdem personas poterit compensare.

Factum. Item, supposito, absque prejudicio veritatis, quod si rex modernus, ut comes Derbeie, teneatur predicta ducenta millia

Questio. restituere, seu illa, ut prefertur, compensare poterit,—numquid alii nobiles secum obligati, tanquam corei seu confidejussores, teneantur, juxta beneficium epistole etc., ad solucionem dictorum ducentorum millium contribuere, seu eadem ducenta millia de bonis et jocalibus regis Ricardi idem rex primitus debeat excomputare?

Factum. Item, presupposito, absque prejudicio eciam veritatis, quod si rex modernus teneatur reginam cum bonis et jocalibus simpliciter restituere, juxta formam clausule in tractatu

Questio. expresse,—numquid idem rex modernus, jure proprio, tanquam rex Anglie, aut jure cesso ab executoribus regis Edwardi, ut prefertur, excipiendo, restitutionem predictae regine una cum bonis etc. poterit impedire, ac jure retencionis uti, quousque rex Francie de residuo trium millionum, notorie debito et non soluto, regi moderno velit satisfacere?

f. 168 b. Istud est querere breviter:—Numquid rex Anglie modernus

Questio. predictam excepcionem de residuo non soluto seu aliam excepcionem poterit apponere, que restitutionem regine una cum bonis poterit impedire, quousque excepcionem hujusmodi rex Francie poterit elidere seu remove?

Factum. Item, ambassiatores domini regis moderni, aput Caliciam, ambassiatoribus regis Francie nunc ultimo in tractatu promiserunt reginam cum bonis, ante festum Purificacionis Beate Marie proxime futurum, simpliciter restituere, juxta formam obligationis inde facte.

Si consilium regis Francie, seu ejusdem regine, recusaverit A.D. 1400. aquitanciam super hujusmodi restitutionem primitus cum Questio. effectu tradere, que mala non faciliter numerabilia et presertim materiam scandali et effusionem sanguinis humani poterit tollere et penitus extirpare, (et ea omnia verisimile est aliter evenire occasione hujus matrimonii, prout sepius inter Angliam et Franciam acciderat, retroactis temporibus, in diversis terminis consimilibus,)—numquid ergo ambassiatores supradicti Questio. restitutionem regine una cum bonis, non obstante promissione ac eciam salvo honore regis et regni, poterunt denegare, quousque talem acquitanciam exclusoriam etc. velint liberare?

Item, olim in tractatu pacis finalis, de quo supra in tercio Factum. dubio continetur, fuit inter alia inter eosdem reges concordatum, prout asseritur, quamvis de hoc non appareat scriptura, quod rex Edwardus stipendiarios suos et alios sibi subditos, per regnum Francie discurrentes, expensis suis a regno Francie, infra certum terminum, expelli et penitus removeri faceret.

Si appareat quod rex Edwardus promissa non adimplevit Questio. infra predictum terminum, sed eisdem stipendiariis suis et aliis subditis in armis auxilium, consilium, et favorem prestitit—numquid, si liqueat de predicta concordia facta in primo tractatu pacis sive post illum tractatum, ex illo capite solucio residui dicti trium millionum<sup>1</sup> juste poterit denegari?

vij<sup>o</sup> kalendas Octobris nobilissima domina mea, domina Moritur  
Philippa, domini mei comitis Marchie filia, primo juveni comitissa  
Arundelle. probissimo comiti Penbrochie aput Wotstok in hastiludio perempto, et postea nobili comiti Arundelle decapitato, tercio domino de Seynt John conjugata, modicum postquam mihi ecclesiam de Westhanfeld,<sup>2</sup> in Essexia, donaverat, nondum xxiiij<sup>um</sup> etatis sue annum attingens, aput Halnakyt<sup>3</sup> juxta Cicestriam, viam universe carnis est ingressa, et in prioratu de Bosgrove jacet tumulata.

Lumbardi et alii mercatores transmarini aput Londoniam, Lumbardi  
in propriis hospiciis morari soliti ac mercimonia sua libere restringun-  
tur.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> millium. MS.

<sup>3</sup> Halnaker.

<sup>2</sup> West-Hanningfield.

<sup>4</sup> retinguntur. MS.

A.D. 1400. exponere tollerati, in tantum, more transmarino, sunt restricti, quod non per se, sed in domo alicujus civis in ea parte fidejussuri, morari debeant; nec sua mercimonia, nisi juxta ejusdem civis supervisionem, exponere sunt aliquatenus permissi.

Fit imperator dux Bavarie. Dux Bavarie, frater regine Francie, Bohemie rege a diu imperium occupante, quia inutili et nondum per papam coronato, contempto, Francorum auxilio in imperatorem erectus, cum pluribus Francis campestri bello per dictum regem devincitur.

Campane per se pulsant. Quatuor campanelle, ad quatuor angulos tumbe Sancti Edwardi aput Westmonasterium affixe, propriis motibus et multo plus quam viribus humanis pulsate, ad magna conventus terrores et prodigia, quater in uno die mirabiliter sonuerunt.

Fonsmanat sanguine. Fons, in quo caput Llewelini ap Gruffyd, Wallensium principis ultimi, in pago de Buellt<sup>1</sup> situato,<sup>2</sup> post ejus amputationem lotum extitit, per diem naturalem integrum merissime sanguine manavit.

Duo pape per xxij. annos. Unum est quod hiis diebus dolenter refero, quod duo pape, quasi monstrum in natura, jam per xxij annos tunicam Christi inconsutelem, contra id Sapiencie: "Una est columba mea,"<sup>3</sup> neffandissime dividendo, mundum animarum erratibus

f. 169. corporum diversis cruciatorum terroribus nimium perturbarunt. Et heu! si verum est quod memorie reduco, scilicet illud evangelii:<sup>4</sup> "Vos estis sal terre, sed quid si sal evanuerit? Ad nichil valet ultra, nisi ut eiciatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus." Unde, quia sacerdocio modo

Venalitas in sacerdocio. quasi venali etc., nonne Christus ementes et vendentes in templo, facto funiculo, ejecit foras? Et unde timeo, ne cum magna flagellatione et conculcatione a gloria sacerdocii eiciamur, attendens quod in veteri testamento, postquam venalitas sacerdocium violarat, fumus inpressabilis, ignis inextinguibilis,

<sup>1</sup> Builth, co. Brecon.

<sup>2</sup> situati. MS.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. Cantic. vj. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. v. 13. More correctly—"Vos estis sal terræ. Quod si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur? Ad nihilum valet nisi ut mittatur foras," etc.

fetor innocissibilis, cessarunt in templo. Ut quid mora, en!<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1400. mater Virgo, juxta id Apocalypseos,<sup>2</sup> a facie bestie in trono sedentis in desertum fugit cum filio. Hic me jubet quiescere Plato, cum nil sit cercius morte, nil incercius hora mortis. Ideo, benedicatur Deus! in mei originis, scilicet de Usk, ecclesia, jam mori adiscens, memoriale meum in competentibus missali, gradali, tropario, sequencia, antiphanario, noviter et cum novis addicionibus et notis compositis, ac plena vestimentorum sectâ, cum tribus capis, ornanter compositorum meis signis, scilicet nudi fodentis in campo nigro, oracionum suffragiis ibidem me comendando relinquo; ulterius, si Deus dederit, ecclesiam eandem reparacione honestiori, ad Beate Virginis gloriam, in cujus nativitatis honore est dedicata, perornare proponens; hoc ad mei laudem non reputando, quia presentis fatuitatis mee scripturam in vita mea videri detestor.

Primogenitus Francie, in exheredacionem et detestacionem regis Anglie, in ducem creatur Aquitanie; quo statim mortuo, secundogenitus subrogatus cum exercitu ad partes Aquitanie sibi transit subjugandas.

Ornamenta  
ecclesie de  
Usk.

Filius regis  
Francie fit  
dux  
Aquitanie.

Imperator Grecorum, pro subsidio contra Sarazenos habendo, regem Anglie, ab eo honorifice receptus, in festo Sancti Thome Apostoli, Londoniam visitat, cum eodem rege maximis suis expensis per duos menses continue existens, et eciam in recessu maximis donariis relevatus. Iste imperator semper uniformiter et sub uno colore, scilicet albo, in longis robis, ad modum tabardorum formatis, semper cum suis incedere solebat; multum varietatem et disparitatem Anglicorum in vestibus reprehendendo, asserens per eas animarum inconstanciam et varietatem significari.

Imperator  
Grecorum  
venit in  
Angliam.

Capita neque barbas capellanorum ipsius non tetigit novacula. In divinis serviciis devotissimi erant isti Greci, ea tam per milites quam per clericos, quia in eorum vulgari, indifferenter cantando. Cogitavi intra me, quam esset dolendum quod iste

<sup>1</sup> an. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xij. 14.

A.D. 1400. major et ulterior Christianus versus orientem princeps, vi per infideles compulsus, ultiores occidentis insulas, pro subsidio contra eosdem, visitare cogeatur. O Deus! quid tu facis, Romana olim gloria? Tui imperii magnalia notorie sunt hodie scissa; unde tibi poterit id Jeremie merito dici: "Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo."<sup>1</sup> Quis umquam crederet quod ad tantam devenires miseriam, que, in solio majestatis residere solens, toti mundo principabas, jam Christiane fidei nequaquam succursum prestare valendo?

Rex cum imperatore aput Eltam suum tenuit Natale.

Dominus meus Cantuariensis misit abbatem Leycestrie et me ad prioratum monialium de Nonetona, Lichfeldensis dioceseos, ad inquirendum contra dominum Robertum Bowlond, super diversis criminibus, heresibus, et erroribus ibidem per eum, ut diffamabatur, tanquam a colubro sub sanctitatis simulate specie, nequiter perpetratis. Ubi et quando invenimus unam monialem, ipsius Roberti extraordinaria libidine, per sodomiticum seminis lapsum fit impregnatio. more sodomidico, per seminis lapsum, et non per instrumenti ingressum, tam per confessionem ejusdem monialis quam literas dicti Roberti, quam eciam inspexione corporis impregnate, ante partum, per matronas facta, fuisse impregnatam; et ex hoc filiam dicto Roberto similem, in festo Sancte Petronille jam ultimo lapso,<sup>2</sup> peperisse. Et hoc idem ipse Robertus in plena cleri convocacione extitit confessus.

A.D. 1401. Rex, in octavis Sancti Hillarii, Londoniis, aput Westmonasterium, tenuit solempne parliamentum. Et dominus meus Cantuariensis in ecclesia Sancti Pauli magnam cleri convocacionem habuit.

Lis super armis de Hastynges. Temporē istius parliamenti, dominus Grei de Ruthyn, comitis [Pembroke] et domini de Hastyng ab intestato heres, admissus in curia militari Anglie, super armis de Hastyng, scilicet manicam auream in campo rubio habentibus, contra dominum Edwardum Hastyng, quia ea integre portantem et se pro herede in ea parte gerentem, litem movit

<sup>1</sup> Lament. i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> lapsum, MS.



sumptuosam; ob quam me de consilio retinuit. Isti liti A.D. 1401. dominus Wylllymus Bewchampe, dominus de Berkeney, quia in illo dominio et in aliis, que dicti comitis extiterant, ex dicti comitis dono, si sine herede ex corpore suo procreato, de consensu regis factus, dimidium habens, pro suo interesse cum dicto domino Grey viriliter assistebat. Et nemirum, quia victoria dicti Edwardi utrumque in toto duceret excludendum.

In convocacione, quidam dominus Wylllymus Sawtri, capellanus, de heresi convictus et condempnatus, domino meo Cantuariensi statim, lata contra ipsum hujusmodi sententia, magno impetu dixit ista verba: "Ego, missus a Deo, dico tibi quod tu et totus clerus tuus et eciam rex estis in brevi mala morte morituri; et extranea nacionis lingua in regno superveniet regnatura. Et hoc est in hostio proxime expectans." Qui quidem sic dampnatus, primo solempniter degradatus, postea in Smythfeld, Londoniis, posti derecte stando catenatus ac dolio, ignitis focalibus circumdatus, in cineres redactus existit. Heredicus crematur.

Istius parlamenti tempore, in festo Carniprivii, quidam Wylllymus Clerk, scriptor Cantuariensis et oriundus in comitatu Cestrie, militaris curie iudicio dampnatus, primo lingua quia in regem hec aliis imponendo verba maledicta protulerat, secundo dextra manu qua illa scripserat privatus, tercio pena Pena talionis. talionis, quia falsa proposita non probavit, apud Turrim decapitatur.

Solempnes nuncii, ex parte ducis Bavarie, in imperatorem, ut premittitur, noviter electi, pro regis nata sibi copulanda, in Angliam advenerunt. Quibus ad partem dixi: "Numquid rex Boemie electus est in possessione imperii? Unde ista nova electio, prima non cassata?" Unus magnus clericus ex eis mihi respondit: "Quia inutilis fuit, et, quia per papam nondum coronatus, electores in ea parte hoc fecerunt." Tunc dixi, "Per capitulum: 'Venerabilem,' extractum: 'De electionibus,'" ad solum papam hoc pertinere dinoscitur, quia

<sup>1</sup> Decret. Greg. ix. lib. i. tit. vj. § 34.

A.D. 1401. ipse imperium a Grecis transtulit in Germanos." Tunc episcopus Herffordensis mihi silentium induxit.

A quo clerico contra symoniam, de quibus gaudeo, hos habui versus:—

Versus. "Hec duo damna feres, si tu sis Symonis heres,  
Mortuus ardebis, et vivus semper egebis."

Sed ex quo tactum est superius de eleccione imperatoris, et quot et quas coronas, et a quibus electus recipiet easdem,

Versus. et quid significant. Septem sunt electores, unde versus:—

"Maguntinensis, Treverensis, Coloniensis,  
Quilibet imperii fit cancellarius horum,  
Et Palatinus dapifer, dux portitor ensis,  
Marchio prepositus [camere] pincerna Boemus<sup>1</sup>:  
Hii statuunt dominum cunctis, per secula summum."

Extractus: "De re judicata;" capitulum: "Ad Apostolice;" in glossa penultima per Johannem Andream.<sup>2</sup>

Tres cor-  
one im-  
peratoris.

Primam coronam ferream, in signum fortitudinis, dabit electo archiepiscopus Coloniensis; secundam argenteam, in signum puritatis, dabit Treverensis archiepiscopus; terciam auream, in signum excellencie, dabit Maguntinensis archiepiscopus, quam papa in confirmatione ipsius electi, pedibus, capiti confirmati, et genuflectendo in signum humilitatis et honorem sancte Romane ecclesie, cujus vassallus existit, eam recipienti apponet.

f. 170. Ordinatum fuit, in isto parlamento, quod homines marchie contra Wallenses sibi indebitatos vel eos ledentes, habitis prius ad emendandum unius septimane induciis, represaliis possent visitare.

Item, pro parte prelatorum fuit propositum quod, cum ipsi tanquam barones ad parliamentum sunt vocati sicque temporalia sua a rege tenendo, quod non sit eorum condicio deterior quam aliorum regni patronorum, quoad beneficiorum collaciones. Plebei tamen insteterunt pro provisione papali

<sup>1</sup> The words "Palatinus," "dux," "Marchio," and "Boemus," are explained by interlinear glosses: "comes," "Saxonie," "Brandenbergiensis," and "id est rex Boemie."

<sup>2</sup> Decret. Sext. lib. II., tit. xiv. § ij.

in relevamine universitatum et cleri. Prelati promiserunt A.D. 1401. infra regnum per se de beneficiis clericis virtuosis providere ipsorum mera et propria voluntate.

Novi unum monachum, in domo Cartusiensi prope Londoniam, satis sanum et fortem, licet se voluntarie ab omnimodo victualium usu per quindenam continue abstinentem. Unde prior domus, de cujus eram consilio, an, si sic moretur, ecclesiastica sepultura gaudere mereretur, me consultuit.

In isto parlamento et convocacione, concesse erant regi, a clero decima cum dimidia, et a populo quintadecima omnium bonorum, cum duobus solidis ex quolibet vini dolio, et, in aliis mercimoniis, ex singulis xx solidis viij denariis, licet cum magno murmure et interna cleri et populi malediccione.

Finitur istud parliamentum x. die mensis Marcii; quo tamen die, modicum ante presens, audiavi plurima aspera contra Wallenses ordinanda agitari, scilicet, de non contrahendo matrimonium cum Anglicis, nec de acquirendo aut inhabitando in Anglia, et alia plura gravia. Et, sicut novit me Deus, nocte previa me excitavit a sompno vox, ita auribus meis insonans: "Supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt," etc.; "Dominus justus," etc., ut in psalmo: "Sepe expugnaverunt."<sup>1</sup> Unde expergefactus, timens mihi eo die aliquid infortunii contingere, me Spiritus Sancti gubernacioni specialiter timidus commissi.

*Sequitur annus Domini mccccej.*

Comes Warwyci, vir benignissimus, de quo supra, a carceribus ereptus, in die Parasceves, quem maximis elemosinis, penitenciis, ac aliis multimodis devocionibus colere solebat, ab hac vita subtractus, pro transitoriis celestia perhenniter commutavit, unicum filium suum sibi relinquendo heredem; cui rex, veniam bienalis etatis largiendo, hereditatem liberavit paternam.

Anno  
Domini  
mccccej<sup>o</sup> in-  
trante

Mors  
comitis.  
Warwyc.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxvij.

A.D. 1401. Wylylmus ap Tedur et Reys ap Tedur, fratres, naturales de insula de Anglesey alias Mona, quia gratiam regiam de dicti Owenii insurrexione optenere non valentes, eodem die Parasceves, castrum de Conwey, armis, victualibus tutissime instructum, duobus ejus janitoribus subtilitate cujusdam carpentarii, ad opus suum solitum se venire asserentis, interfectis, cum aliis quadraginta ingressi, occuparunt pro tutamine. Sed statim per principem et patriam obsessi, xxvii die mensis Maii tunc sequenti, idem castrum, vecorditer quoad se, et proditorie quoad socios, quia novem eorundem magis dicto principi exosos, post vigilias nocturnas dormitantes, per ipsos dolose a tergo ligatos, sub condicione sui et aliorum vitas servandi, reddiderunt. Quos ix, sic ligatos et principi redditos, primo trahi, postea eviscerari, suspendi, decollari et quatripartiri ad statim viderunt.

Castrum  
de Con-  
wey.

Isto eodem tempore, quidam ville de Usk burgenses, clam ecclesiam de Usk, instante servicio Passionis Dominice, exeuntes, castrum ibidem fraudelenter intrantes, quendam Johannem fiz Pers, nuper ibi senescallum, mortalibus penis, de adulterio cum domina quadam quia diffamatum,<sup>1</sup> per fratrem suum naturalem tantum, dominum Edwardum Charleton, mirabiliter dampnatum, nudum, in penis hujusmodi mancipatum, a vinculis per ipsos, fractis carceribus, absolutum, domino de Berkeveny in ipsius castro ibidem ad magnas eorundem grates, licet postea, hac de causa, propter seduccionem<sup>2</sup> per regem exulatum, apud Bergeveny predictam reddiderunt.

Hiis diebus, filius et heres regis Persarum Aremirandine, Turcorum Babylonie soldanum, magnum timorem Christianitati incucientem ut ipsius fidem pervertere jactantem, in centum mille bellicosos Christianos, et presertim Hungaros, invadere solitum, in campestri bello per se devictum ob-

Destructio  
Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> "quia diffamatum" is written over an erasure, the name of the lady being probably suppressed. There are other alterations in the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> produccionem. MS.

tinuit; Jerusalemque funditus destruxit, et partes illas in A.D. 1401. magna pompa occupavit. Unde Christianorum peregrinatio ad illas partes jam extitit impedita.

Kalendis Maii, apud Phillipis Norton, pannorum mercatores quendam regis domicellum, literas regias secum deferentem, censum, vectigal, sive tributum contra promissum regis in ingressu suo felici eis remissum, exigere, pro hujusmodi pannorum vendicione, nitentem, in medio foro trucidabant. Resistencia pannariorum et aliorum mercatorum. f. 170 b. Unde, quia regis justiciariis, licet regni proceribus, hujusmodi excessum punire, propter pagensium recistenciam, non valentibus, rex, in propria persona pagum visitando, dictum excessum aliquamiter reformavit, licet modica coreccione.

Alius hujusmodi exactor apud Dertmouth in comitatu Devonie, per vulgus invasus, vix mare per unam naviculam captatam apprehendit.

Bristolie uxores, maritos inde exonerando, hujusmodi Uxores Bristollic. exactoribus hujusmodi repulsam, aliquando et vulneribus intermixtis, dederunt.

Dominus insularum Orcadum Ultoniam in Hibernea, ad magnum dampnum domini mei de Marchia, jam in custodia regis existentis, ipsius comitis duxit hostiliter invadendam.

In festo Ascencionis Domini, in hoc anno, subditi de Berkeveny contra eorum dominum, Wyllelmum Bewchampe, insurrexerunt; et tres viros propter furtum morti dampnatos, et eodem die, scilicet juxta voluptatem secunde Jesabel, loci domine, festivitati aut tempori non reverendo, suspendendos, juxta furcas liberantes, dominum Wyllelmum Lucy, militem, ad mortis execucionem eorundem deputatum, sagittis suffocarunt. Insurreccio de Berkeveny.

In vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Isabella, regis Francie filia, Anglie regina, regis Ricardi olim Anglie uxor, licet inutilis, quia nondum undecim annorum, a Londoniis versus patrem, pluribus tractatibus intermediis ad hoc habitis, recessit nigris induta, regi Henrico multum depressum et malevolum in recessu, vix os apperrens, exhibendo vultum. De cujus recessu, quem vidi, vulgus tumultuabat, potestas Recessus regine.

A.D. 1401. frendebat, quibusdam adventui ejus ad regnum, quia ipsius totam turbacionem causanti, maledicentibus, quibusdam aliis quod, post ejus recessum, ob dicti regis Ricardi mortem, olim ipsius mariti, majorem causaret vindicte fomite inferri molestiam asserentibus procurari per eandem.

Herowd  
Scocie.

Isto anno Domini millesimo cccci<sup>mo</sup>, in festo Commemorationis Sancti Pauli, quidam regalis armorum de Scotis descriptor, Anglice herode vocatus, propter obloquia sua de rege Henrico in regno Francie habita, suis insigniis primo spoliatus, facie versa ad caudam equi, per Londoniam equitatus et demum lingua privandus curie militaris judicio adjudicatus extitit. Rex tamen eundem, cum literis ex causa ipsius herawd ignominiosa missivis, ad dominum suum regem Scocie, cum ipsius causa scripta, gloriose preter dictum remisit equitatum.

Lis  
armorum.

Eodem die, lis magna in dicta curia inter dominum de Grey de Ruthyn, pro quo in ea parte [eram], et dominum Edwardum Hastyng, propter arma rubeij campi cum manica aurea, de quibus supra, que olim erant dominorum de Berkeveny; et inter dominum Johannem Colvyll de Dale, contra quem tunc advocavi, et dominum Walterum Byttervey, de comitatu Solapii, milites, propter arma de auro et una fees et tribus tortellis de rubio in capite, interdicto utrobi judicio scilicet posessorio, agentes quam tumultuose, habebatur.

Oweyn.

Tota illa estate, Oweyn Klyndor, cum pluribus Wallie proceribus, regni exules et regis proditores habiti, in montanis et silvestribus delitentes, aliquando depredando, aliquando insidias et insultus eis inferentes interficiendo, partes West-Walie et North-Walie non modice infestarunt, ac dominum de Grey captivarunt.<sup>1</sup>

Gallici magnam partem Vasconie, Anglie adherentis, sibimet, et presertim totum comitatum de Perago, civitatem scilicet ipsam cum xxx castris et omnibus terris ipsius comitis,

<sup>1</sup> A note is added in the margin: "Dominus de Grey per O. captivatur et pro xvj millibus libris redimitur."

hostiliter ad eorum usum occuparunt. Ipsum comitem ad A.D. 1401. dominum regem de premissis vidi, die predicto, accedere<sup>1</sup> Comes relaturum. Peragi.

Tunc eciam vidi Hibernie nobiliores contra mercenariorum Hibernia. Hibernicorum ferocitatem penes regem multum querelantes.

Tytmannus, Wigorniensis episcopus, vj die mensis Junii, olim de Haylys monachus, cujus consilio retentus fueram, quem rex Ricardus, a suo monasterio expulsum propter medicandi et incantandi artes, primo in Landavensem, secundo in Wygornensem erexerat, diem suum clausit extremum. Unde rex scripsit pape pro magistro Ricardo Clefford, ipsius privati sigilli custode, quod, mutata ecclesie Wellensis provisione, eidem Ricardo, nondum tamen propter regis recitenciam sacrato, facta, de Wigorniensi, ac magistro Henrico Bowet, legum doctori, cum quo retentus fueram, de Wellensi, jam per annum et dimidium propter dictam resis- f. 171. tenciam vacante, ecclesiis dignaretur providere.

Dicto Comemoracionis festo, dominus Georgius, comes de Donbar in Scocia, homo legeus regis Anglie devenit, sibi omnia possessiones et castra sua in regno Scocie habita reddendo; tamen dicebatur quod Scoti, factum suum hujusmodi precaptantes, eadem ad usum regis Scocie occupabant, sic quod hujus devencio et redditus modicum, ymmo minime, regi Anglie videbantur proficere.

Hujusmodi literam tempori convenientem ecce regi Henrico transmissam: "Illustrissime princeps et domine, dignetur vestra celsitudo solito benignissima, me vestre sublimitatis servulum, vere totum et integrum dolore nunc plenum, vestris pedibus provolutum graciose habere recomendatum. Et quia vestra uncta serenitas mihi, vestro servulo minimo, in ultimo recessu a vobis corde tristissimo, demandavit quod, si qua audiveram, vestre excellencie significarem indilate, ut servulus vester obedientissimus, pennam sumpsit in manibus que audieram et videram ostensurus. Sane, illustrissime princeps,

Litera regi  
directa.

<sup>1</sup> accedereque. MS.

A.D. 1401. ut testatur sapiens Solomon in Proverbiis Spiritus Sancti: 'Meliora sunt vulnera diligentis quam fraudelenta oscula blandientis,'<sup>1</sup> ideo, ut verus vester et regni vestri dilector, atque pro viribus Dei et vestri fidelis servitor, elegi 'abjectus esse in domo Dei'<sup>2</sup> pro veritate cum Baptista, quam regalibus interesse deliciis et ferre osculum adulacionis in ore, cum Juda proditore. Igitur totus in lacrimas resolutus, corde vulneribus lacerato pre dolore, assero cum propheta, quod 'qui beatum te dicunt ipsi te decipiunt et semitas gressuum tuorum dissipant.'<sup>3</sup> Unde tantam desolacionem in cordibus prudencium, pro confusione et turbacione quam timent infra breve in isto regno evenire, a tempore juventutis mee non memini me audisse. Quia lex et justitia sunt exules a regno; habundant furta, homicidia, adulteria, fornicaciones, pauperum oppressiones, injurie, injusticie, et diverse contumelie; et nunc pro lege sufficit tyrannica voluntas. Et ideo certus sum quod, si evangelium sit verum, asserens quod "omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur,"<sup>4</sup> et si dicta sapientis non sunt insana, affirmantis quod 'regnum de gente in gentem transferetur propter injusticias, injurias, contumelias, et diversos dolos,'<sup>5</sup> si, inquam, omnia ista in regno superhabundent sine freno, nec sit aliquis potens in regno, fidelis Christi procurator, in clero vel in militia, qui hiis et aliis innumerabilibus Dei nostri offensis et contemptibus obviet vel succurrat, dico, cum fidei propheta, quod Dominus Deus fortis et potens 'irascitur per singulos dies, et, nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit; archum suum tetendit et paravit illum, et in eo paravit vasa mortis, sagittas suas ardentibus effecit,'<sup>6</sup> ut, post tam manifesta Dei miracula et ejus stupenda gratissima beneficia in effectum et opere contempta vel neglecta, celerem et quasi furore plenam infert vindictam in ejus ingratos servos et manifestos contemptores. Nos autem sperabamus quod vester miraculosus ingressus in regnum Anglie, non dubito quin in manu Dei non factus,

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xxvij. 6.<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxxij. 11.<sup>3</sup> Isai. iij. 12.<sup>4</sup> Luc. xj. 17.<sup>5</sup> Ecclesi. x. 8.<sup>6</sup> Ps. vij. 12—14.



fuisset redempturus Jerusalem, id est omnia pretacta mala<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1401. et Dei contemptum reformaturus, ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. Nunc vero flent discreti et rident discoli; vidue, pupilli, et orphani stringunt nunc manus, fluunt lacrimæ per maxillas, qui jam tarde, in vestro ingressu in regnum Angliæ, erant omnes gentes plaudentes manibus et Deum voce unanimi collaudantes, cum filiis Jerusalem in die Palmarum obviam Christo procedentes, in celum clamantes, et de vobis, sicut de altero Christo, in regem uncto, concinentes: ‘Benedictus qui [venit] in nomine Domini, rex noster Angliæ,’<sup>2</sup> in spe felicitis regiminis hujus regni. Nunc vero ‘versa est in luctum cithera nostra,’<sup>3</sup> gaudium transit in merorem, dum omnia mala multiplicantur, et spes remedii a cordibus hominum recessit cum merore. Ideo, injustam penam et vindictam negligencie et ommissionis gubernatorum populi, Deus iudex et justus permittit plebeos, tanquam feras bestias, irregulariter et irracionabiliter judicare, et regimen superiorum innaturaliter presumere, et erga superiores, equales, et inferiores, sine discessionis libramine, bestialiter deservire. Et revera, nisi fallor, super rebelione populi indignetur vestra regalis dignitas, et ad tantum irritetur vestra strenuitas et militaris ferositas, ut eciam in una plaga regni vestri, quod absit, trucidentur in ore gladii viginti milia vestrorum legiorum, et exinde sacietur lictorum crudelitas, qui in vestro ingressu Dei populum spondidistis, omnes et singulos regni vestri incolas, pauperes et divites, majores et minores, defendere f. 171 b. ab adversis. Non eo magis cessabit murmur populi nec indignatio Dei vestri irati; sed magis incitabitur in furorem, et magis ac magis, captata oportunitate, deserviet in vindictam; donec, servata lege, regni vestri justitia, remotis et extinctis injuriis, injusticiis, et populi oppressionibus supradictis, per rectam regulam legis justicie, reddatur unicuique quod suum est, ut sic primo inter Deum et hominem pax reformetur, et

<sup>1</sup> omnium pretactorum malorum. MS.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxj. 9.<sup>3</sup> Job, xxx. 31.

A.D. 1401. sic deinde inter hominem et proximum suum veraciter et non fecte derivetur. 'Quis enim restitit ei et pacem habuit?'<sup>1</sup> Quia pacta vestra et 'iniquitates vestre diviserunt inter vos et Deum vestrum et absconderunt faciem ejus a vobis,'<sup>2</sup> ideo, digno Dei judicio, qui 'sine lege peccaverunt sine lege peribunt,'<sup>3</sup> et qui legem contempnunt, redarguti a lege, secundum legem judicabuntur. Et, secundum beatum Paulum,<sup>4</sup> 'non auditores sed factores legis justificabuntur,'<sup>5</sup> et e contrario contemptores confundentur, sicut biennium in rege Ricardo, tanquam in speculo stupendo, videmus exempla tamen universo orbi et omnibus seculis supervenientibus indelebiliter et indefectibiliter memoranda. Auferat ergo Deus meus, sol justicie, velamen ab oculis vestris, ut clare intueamini oculis mentis vestre quid in vestro ingressu felici in regnum Anglie Deo fidei inoblivioso promisistis publice et privatim, et, insuper, quid justicie et quid obsequii Deo grato et gracioso et regno Anglie pro omnibus beneficiis retribuistis. Et, si quid minus injusto libramine inveneritis, celeriter, pre timore vindicte, retribuere satagatis; et, si quid justum inveneritis, reddite gracias Domino, bonorum omnium largitori et unicuique secundum merita institissimo redditori; et benedicta sancta Trinitas, cujus manu corda sunt regum et omnia gubernacula regnorum, det vobis cor docile et tractabile et ad omne bonum ductile ad peragendum fideliter in minutum vobis officium regie dignitatis, et ad intelligendum memoriter et efficaciter ad remediandum miseras populorum; adaperiatque Dominus cor vestrum in lege sua et in preceptis suis, et faciat pacem in regno Anglie per dies sempiternos. Scriptum, si vestre placeat dominacioni, corde tremulo, amore languido, Londoniis, die Mercurie in crastino Inventionis Sancte Crucis, manu propria vestri soliti precatoris. Serenissime princeps, hec, in sententia liberando animam meam, ut verus Dei cultor, et boni regiminis vestri zelator, reique publice et regni vestri fidelis amator

<sup>1</sup> Job, ix. 4.<sup>2</sup> Isai. lix. 2.<sup>3</sup> Rom. ij. 12.<sup>4</sup> Jacopum. MS.<sup>5</sup> Rom. ij. 13.

et orator, vive vocis oraculo locutus sum vobis, apud vos manens; et nunc, si placeat, hec scribo vobis, eodem accensus desiderio et amore, et amoris langore, priusquam fiant, ut,<sup>1</sup> cum factum fuerit, credatis, et ut, cum venerit hora eorum, reminiscamini quia ego dixi vobis: 'Cum autem venerit ille spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem, et que ventura sunt annuntiabit vobis.'<sup>2</sup> Ecce vir desideriorum amore languido."

Item, xxviii die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo cccc. primo, regina Anglie predicta, adhuc pupilla, Calicias transfretavit, et ibidem, usque ad primam diem Augustii proxime sequentem, pendente tractatu inter nostrates Anglie et consiliarios regis Francie, morabatur; quo die primo, cum suis jocalibus et dotaliciis, patri suo regi Francie transmittenda, honorifice recipiebatur per Francigenas, omnibus Anglicis utriusque sexus omnia ad propria remissis.

Ista estate, classes Anglie et Francie se multum in mari mutuo infestabant.

Item, in crastino Assumpcionis Beate Virginis anni predicti, dominus rex Henricus, cum suis proceribus ab omni parte regni ad hoc vocatis, in magno consilio et solempni apud Westmonasterium celebrato, adversarios suos Francie et Scocie per eum fore militariter invadendos decrevit.

Item, isto autumpno, Oweynus de Glendor, cum tota Northewalia, Cardikan, et Poysia sibi adherentibus, Anglicos in illis partibus habitantes, cum eorum villis et presertim villa de Pola, ferro et flamma multum infestabat. Unde Anglici, in multitudine glomerata illas partes invadendo, totaliter depopulatas et depredatas ferro, fame, et flamma, eciam pueris et ecclesiis non parcendo, et monasterium de Stratflur, in quo rexmet hospitabatur, et ejus ecclesia et choro eciam usque ad summum altare pro stabulo utendo, ipsasque pateras penitus spoliando, et ultra mille utriusque sexus pueros secum in Angliam vehendo ipsorum servicii

Monasterium de Stratfleayr stabulum equorum.

<sup>1</sup> id. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. xvj. 13.

A.D. 1401. mancipandos, desolatas reliquerunt easdem. Dictus tamen Oenus non modicum Anglicis nocuit, plures eorum interimendo, arma, equos et tentoria primogeniti regis et principis Walie ac aliorum dominorum hostiliter auferendo, et eadem pro usu ad montana sua et tutamina de Snowdon secum transferendo.

f. 172. Hiis diebus, australis Wallia, et presertim tota Llandavensis diocesis, ab omnimoda invasionis sive defensionis molestia satis stetit pacifica.

Ll. ap. Gr. Inter trucidatos per Anglicorum ingressum predictum, Važan. Ll. ap Greffit Važan, de Cayo in comitatu de Cardikan, vir multum nobilis et dapsilis, sexdecem dolia vini in familia sua omni anno expendens, quia dicto Oeno confavens, in festo Sancti Dionysii, apud Lanamthryvry,<sup>1</sup> in presencia regis et de ejus mandato, cum filio suo primogenito, trahitur, suspenditur, decollatur, et quatripartitur.

Rex in  
Wallia.

Hoc tempore, circa festum Sancti Michaelis, quarterium frumenti a nobili ad duo nobilia, et in quibusdam partibus Anglie ad tria, ad annonam subito mutatur cariorem.

Ubique in Walia, per muros et fossata renovantur tutamina.

Mors  
domini  
Poysye.

Moritur nobilis dominus, dominus Johannes Charleton, dominus Poysie, apud castrum suum de Pola, in festo Sancti Luce; cui dominus Edwardus, frater suus, juvenis elegantissimus, de Usk et de Kaerlyon, in jure dotalicio uxoris sue, comitisse Marchie, tunc dominus, jure successit hereditario.

Dominus Thomas, regis secundogenitus, in Hiberniam, ad Hibernicorum domandam rebellionem, cum magno transiit exercitu. Sic eciam et comes Rutlondie, ad resistendum Gallicorum invasionibus, transiit in Vasconiam.

Scoti, cum Anglicis pacem aut treugam tractare detestantes, diffidenciam et guerram Anglicis decreverant in festo Sancti Martini fore inducendas.

Plebei de Cardikan, ad vite perdonacionem recepti, Oeno dimisso, licet cum magna miseria, redierunt ad propria,

<sup>1</sup> (?) Llanarmon-Dyfryn, co. Denb.

lingua Walicana uti permissi, licet ejus destruccio per  
Anglos decreta fuisset, omnipotente Deo, rege regum, infalli-  
bili omnium judice, hujusmodi decretum ad gravatorum  
appellacionem et querelam misericorditer revocante.

A.D. 1401.  
Decretum  
destruc-  
cionis  
lingue  
Wallice.

In crastino Omnium Sanctorum, Oenus, volens obsidi-  
onem ponere circa Caernarvon, in multitudine glomerosa<sup>1</sup>  
vixillum suum album cum dracone aureo ibidem displicuit;  
tamen per intraneos aggressus, trecentis<sup>2</sup> de suis interemptis,  
in fugam pulsus est.

Isto tempore, pro maritagio filiarum suarum, dominus A.D. 1402.  
rex totum regnum colectavit.

Domini de Percy, pater et filius, Scotorum rebellionem  
strenue domarunt, ipsos in magno numero interimendo et  
captivando.

Oenus cum suis dominium de Rethyn<sup>3</sup> in North-Wallia et  
ejus pagum, penultimo die Januarii, ferro et flamma crude-  
liter infestavit, predas patrie, et presertim pecudum, ad  
montana de Snowdon secum deferendo; tamen dominiis  
comitis Marchie de Dynby et aliis multum parcebat, duos  
comitatus scilicet de Kaernarven de Murionit sibi inclinatos,  
quoad jurisdictionem et guerram, ad votum habendo.

Quidam miles, vocatus Davit ap Jevan Goz, de comitatu  
de Cardigan, qui per viginti annos continue cum rege Cypry  
et aliis Cristianis Sarazenos debellaverat, per regem Francie  
ad regem Scocie pro Oeno directus, per nautas Anglie tentus,  
carceribus turris Londoniensis mancipatur.

Nuncii Oeni cum literis infrascripti tenoris, regi Scocie A.D. 1401.  
et dominis Hibernie directis, in Hibernia capti decapitantur:

“Treshaut et trespuisant et tresredoute seigneur et cosin, je  
me recomande a vostre treshautisme roial mageste si humble-  
ment come suy dygne en toutz maneres des honors et rever-  
encez. Et tresredoute seigneur et tressovereign cosin, pleser  
seyt a vous et a vostre dit treshautisme mageste dasavoyr  
que Brutus, vostre tresnoble auncestre et le meyn, estoyt le  
primer roy corone qui primerment enhabita deinz cest realme

Litere ad  
regem  
Scocie.

<sup>1</sup> glomerosum. MS.    <sup>2</sup> trecentum. MS.    <sup>3</sup> Ruthin, co. Denb.

A.D. 1401. dengleterre, qui jadis fuist nomme Brataygne graunt. Le quel Brutus engendera troi fitz, cest assavoir, Albanactus Locrius, et Loctrinus et Kamber. De quel dit Albanactus vous estez descenduz par droit lyne. De quel dit Kamber les issuez ount reyngnes roialment, tanque a Kadualadir, qui estoit le darrein roy coronne de ma dit nacioun, dount je, vostre simple cosin, suy descenduz par droit lyne. Apres que decesse mes auncestres et tout ma dit nacion avons este et ore sumes en oppression et bondage desouz mes et vostres morteles enimys Sacsouns, come vous, tresredoute seigneur et tressovereign cosin, ent avez bone conisance. Des quex oppressions et bondages le prophecie dit que je serray delivere par eid et socour de vostre dit roial mageste. Mais, tresredoute seigneur et soveraigne cosin, je me grauntement complaigne a vostres ditz roall mageste et tressovereign cosinage, que moi defaut graundment genz dez armez; pur quoy, tresredoute seigneur et tressovereigne cosin, je vous supplie humblement en mez genoils engenuler, si pleiser soit a dit vostre roial mageste, de moy maunder certeyn nombre de gentz darmez de moy eidir et resistre, en laide de Dieux, mes et vostres ennmys susditz; eiant consideration, tresredoute seigneur et tressovereign cosin, a le eschatisme de meschyf et meschifs que je et mes ditz auncestres de Gales susditz avons suffres et meyntes autres passez par mez et vostres mortuels enimys susditz. Entendant, tresredoute seigneur et tressovereign cosin, que ensi soit que je serray jour de ma vie oblige de fayr service et plesance a vostre dit roial mageste et amender a vous. Et pour ceo que je ne puis vous envair touz mez bussoignes en escript, vous envair lez portours de cestez de toutz mez bussoignes pleinement enformez, as quex vous pleaise doner foy et credens de ceo quils vous durront par bouche. De par moy. Tresredoute seigneur et tressovereign cosin, le trespuisant Seigneur vous [garde].”

Litere ad  
dominos  
Hibernie.

“Salutem et amoris plenitudinem, domine reverendissime et consanguinee confidentissime. Sciatis quod maxima dis-

sencio, sive guerra, orta est inter nos et nostros vestrosque A.D. 1401. mortales inimicos, Saxones. Quam guerram viriliter sustentamus hucusque, fere per duos annos elapsos, ac eciam de cetero intendimus et speramus sustentare et ad bonum et effectualem finem perducere, mediantibus gracia Dei, Salvatoris nostri, vestrisque auxilio atque favore. Sed, quia vulgariter dicitur per prophetiam quod, antequam nos altioremanum in hac parte haberemus, quod vos [et] vestri carissimi consanguinei in Hibernea ad hoc manus porrigetis adjutrices; quocirca, reverende domine et consanguinee confidentissime, vos corditer et affectuose requirimus quatinus, de equestribus et peditibus vestris armatis, ad succurrendum nobis et nationi nostre, a diu per inimicos nostros ac vestros predictos oppressis, necnon ad resistendum voluntati fraudabili et deceptabili eorundem inimicorum nostrorum, talem numerum qualem commode et honeste poteritis, salvo in omnibus vestro honorabili statu, nobis, tam cito quam bene videbitis expedire, necessitatem nostram considerando, transmittatis. Istud amore nostro et sicut in vobis maxime confidamus, licet incogniti vestre reverende persone fuerimus, facere non tardatis, intelligentes, domine et consanguinee reverendissime, quod, quamdiu nos valebimus istam guerram fortiter sustentare in partibus nostris, quod vobis satis constat sine dubio quod vos et omnes alii magnates de partibus vestris Hibernie pacem desiderabilem et tranquillitatem placabilem medio tempore impetrabitis. Et quia, domine consanguinee, latores presencium vos<sup>1</sup> plenius viva<sup>2</sup> voce informabunt, eis,<sup>3</sup> si placet, credenciam adhibeatis in omnibus que vobis ex parte nostra<sup>4</sup> dicent, et qua volueritis, domine et consanguinee reverende, que per nos vestrum humilem consanguineum fieri poterunt, vos mandetis cum fiducia. Domine et consanguinee reverende, vestram reverenciam et dominacionem in prosperis Altissimus conservet longevam. Scriptum apud Northwalliam, penultimo die Novembris."

<sup>1</sup> qui vos. MS.<sup>2</sup> una. MS.<sup>3</sup> qui. MS.<sup>4</sup> vestra. MS.

A.D. 1402. Jam, Deus, qui me studium Oxonie et ipsius doctoratus regimen triennale, et demum in curia Cantuariensi septenale advocacionis officium, tam honorem quam utilitatem, ex tue infinitate gracie concessisti perficere, ac in aliis meis agendis quibuscunque a juventute mea me adjuvisti, usque ad senectam et senium, me ne derelinquas; et fac mecum signum in bonum, ut videant qui me aderunt et confundantur, quoniam tu, Domine, adjuvisti me et consolatus es me. Meumque jam, Deo disponente, directum Romam aggressum, cum ibidem progressu necnon ad partes votivas regressu, sive advocatorum sive auditorum numero aggregandum, ad tui nominis honorem et laudem, et mei utriusque hominis sospitatem, et cum honore triplici temporalibusque auxiliis, da misericorditer consolari.

f. 173. Quid mora? xi. kalendas Marcii, anno Domini m<sup>mo</sup>cccc<sup>mo</sup>j, presencium compiler, ut, Deo disponente, proposuit, Londoniis apud Byllyngesgate navem ingressus, prospero flante vento et mari sulcato, in Brabancia terra satis votiva, apud Berwk-super-sabulum, suos gressus versus Romam dirigendo, infra diem naturalem terre applicuit. Et extunc per Dyst, Mestryk, Aquas Grani, Coloniam, Bunnam, Conifluenciam, Wormeciam, Spiram, Argentinam, Brisacam, Basiliam, Luceriam et ejus mirabilem lacum, Bernam, montem Godardi et ejus cacuminis hermitogium, in caruca per bovem tractus, nivis frigoribus quasi peremptus, oculis velatis, ne loci discrimina conspiceret, ad Belsonam in Lumbardia Palmarum devenit vigilia. Et inde, per Cumam, Mediolanum, Plesanciam, Burgum Sancti Dionisii, Carenciam, Pontem-tremulum, Petrum Sanctam, Pisas, Senas, et Viterbium, Bolonie, Florencie et Perisii, propter frementes ducis Mediolani, de quo infra, guerras ac obsidiones et earum discrimina, declinando vias, in omni notabili hospicio, ad sui suorumque et presertim equorum refocillationem, per duos dies repau-sando, nonis Aprilis, Dei favore arcuumque terrore, Romam per omnia devenit salvus. Ac, infra quindenam extunc, per dominum Balthasarum, tituli sancti Eustacii diaconum car-



dinalem, postea papam Joannem xxiiij., domino Bonifacio A.D. 1402. pape nono cum sui commendacione presentatus, et per eum honorifice ad pedis et manus et faucis oscula receptus, et demum pro rigore sciencie sue examinis cardinali Bononiensi, postea pape Innocentio septimo, per eum commissus et approbatus, infra quindenam in pape capellanum, palacique apostolici auditorem, urbisque et orbis judicem, cum hujusmodi prerogative insigniis, capa scilicet, rochetto et capello, per ipsum papam insignitus, ipsius et rote consiliis exstitit sublimatus. Cui et papa infra octo dies extunc triginta magnas causas commisit ad sui audienciam delatas, ipsius industria terminandas.

In dicto transitu, primo apud Coloniam et continue usque ad Pisas predictas, tam de nocte quam eciam de die, solem precedentem cometam terribilem, solis scilicet cleri et lune Stella. scilicet milicie mundi terrorem, ipsius ducis cito post defuncti mortis prefiguracionem, conspexi. Cujus arma terribilia, quia serpentem blavium hominem rubium et nudum in campo albo devorantem, eciam in aere sepius fuerant tunc visa.

Dux Baverie in imperatorem eligitur et Ytaliam, Romam A.D. 1401. pro coronacione anelans, ingreditur. Sed apud Padwam per dictum ducem repulsam passus, frustrato negotio, ad partes rediit confusus.

Dux iste, subjugata per eum Bononia, mundi delicia et A.D. 1402. Ytalie gloria, et ante cujus conspectum quasi siluit terra,<sup>1</sup> qui et magnum fluvium Powe per medium montium et multa miliaria abducens, ad modum Ciri magni a Babilone Efraten evertentis, Padwamque lucratus, subita peste ad magnum peregrinorum dolorem succubuit, quia, in virga ferrea terras suas regendo, tutum viantibus prestabat transitum per easdem, et certe credebatur quod, si per annum diucius vixisset, quod Almanie et Ytalie in solidum imperasset. In cujuslibet Europe principum familiis, pro novis sibi explanandis, suis magnis

Mors ducis  
Mediolani.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Mac. i. 3.

A.D. 1402. expensis, eciam ipsos principes magnis muneribus sibi alligando, votivos exploratores habuit. Sed ecce! juxta illud vulgare: "In male quesitis vix gaudebit tercius," ejus avunculus, archiepiscopus Mediolanensis, vir magnanimus et imperii vicarius, in imperatoris castris suos nepotes, dominum Galias, istius ducis patrem, et dominum Bornabo, ipsius patrum, capitaneos, mortis sue tempore, dimittendo, eis elacionem et mutuam infestacionem imperii jura subtrahendo, in persona istius tercii dedit male quesita eradicari.

Mediolanensi duce predicto defuncto, Bavarie dux, in imperatorem electus, ad papam pro confirmacione solempnes transmisit nuncios; quam obtinuit, ut infra.

Bononia, Perisium, et alie ecclesie terre duci defuncto commendate rebellant; sed dicti cardinalis Sancti Eustacii ad subjeccionem reducuntur industria.

Per totam Lumbardiam et Tuscaniam pacis et concordie dissolvuntur federa; et, Gwelforum et Gyblynorum parcialitate, ferro et flamma vibrantur disturbia.

A.D. 1403. Undecimo kalendas Januarii, indulgenciarum, unionum, excepcionum, pluralitatum, et aliorum curiam defamantium, me presente, revocantur, ymmo verius renovantur, excessus; quia heu! revocatorum novum forum reconciliacionum invaluit. In vim dicte unionis revocacionum, presencium compilatori archidiaconatum Bogomham,<sup>1</sup> cum ecclesiis de Knle, Tysbury, et Deverell<sup>2</sup> in Anglia, sed, guerra Wallie hoc impediante, archidiaconatus Landavensem et de Kermerdyn, cum ecclesia de Landevaelauc,<sup>3</sup> cum prebenda de Lanbistre, papa sibi contulit in Wallia.

Anno Domini m<sup>mo</sup>cccc<sup>mo</sup>ij<sup>o</sup>, Ladislaus, rex Neapolis, regnum Ungarie jure hereditario pro se petens, manu id intravit forti, sed, sola Sclavonia subjugata, per Sysmundum, Anne regine Anglie fratrem, regno incumbentem, postea imperatorem, viriliter repulsus, in Italiam cum rubore est reversus.

<sup>1</sup> Buckingham.      <sup>2</sup> Knoyle, Tisbury, and Deverill, co. Wilts.

<sup>3</sup> (P) Llandefaillog, co. Caerm.

O Deus! quam dolenter jam ecclesia duobus, et imperium A.D. 1402. tribus, presidentibus mutuis se infestant et devastant cladibus. Et presertim Grecorum, ex genere Constantini magni, Brutonum regis, et Sancte Elene filii radicatam, imperium, per ipsum a Romanis in Grecos et demum a Grecis per Sthephanum papam in Germanos translatum, Turcis et Tartaris noscitur desolatum.

In festo Sancti Albani, juxta Knyghton in Wallia, inter Anglicos sub domino Edmundo Mortemere et Wallicos sub Oueno Glyndour quam gravi innito conflictu, et miseranda cede ad octa milia inde contingente, dicto O. cessit victoria. Et heu me! dictus dominus meus Edmundus, cujus me pater et dominus de Usk ad scholas exhibuit, belli fortuna abducitur captivus. Qui eciam per emulos in Anglia omnibus bonis f. 173 b. privatus ac redimi impeditus, captivitatis dolores micus<sup>1</sup> ut evaderet, dicti Oweni filiam, de qua filium nomine Leonellum et tres filias, licet jam cum matre extra unam filiam mortuos, procreaverat, ad magnum populi rumorem noscitur duxisse uxorem. Ac demum in castro de Hardeleghe<sup>2</sup> per exercitum Anglie obsessus,<sup>3</sup> de [quo] adhuc mira canuntur in festo, dies suos quam dolorosos finivit.

Isto anno eciam dominus Grey de Ruthyn, ad duorum milium de suis necem per eundem Owenum captus, mancipatur et carceribus. Sed sexdecim milium librarum auri redemptione ab eisdem liberatus exstitit.

De tanto infortunio Anglico dominio per dictum Owenum causato mea, dum cogito, viscera contremiscunt. Nam totam Walliam cum ejus marchia, triginta milium de cavernis exuncium consorcio stipatus, omnia parcium castra, inter que de Usk, Carlyon, et Nuportus, subvertit, ac opida succendit. Quid mora? velut alter Assur, furoris Dei virga, inauditam tyrannidem ferro et flamma miserime vibravit.

Ista Rome per auditum habui; in qua tunc omnia sub foro venalium procedebant negocia, adeo quod non secundum me-

<sup>1</sup> miscius. MS.<sup>2</sup> Harlech, co. Merion.<sup>3</sup> obcesso. MS.

A.D. 1402. rita, sed ad majora precia conferebantur beneficia. Unde quisque pecuniosus et inanis glorie cupidus ad sui promocionis effectum pecunias suas in mercatorum habuerat banco. Quare, sicut veteris testamenti venalitate sacerdocium corrumpente tria cessarunt miracula, ignis scilicet sacerdocii inextinguibilis, et odor interfeccionis non gravabilis, ac fumus inpressibilis, timeo quod in novo testamento et ita continget. Et ad hoc, ut mihi videtur, indies ad januas ecclesie pulsant.

Hoc anno, rex, cum centum milibus et ultra in tres partes divisus, Walliam militariter contra Owenum invadit. Sed ipso cum suis miseris in cavernis et nemoribus delitentibus, rex, devastata patria, et cum infinita animalium preda, gloriose rediit ad propria.

Dominus de Fyz Walter, dum Rome erat meis adquiescens consiliis, sed in hoc inconsulto, volens a Roma per mare Neapolym transire, a Saracenis capitur et Thony, principalis barbarorum civitatis, advehitur carceribus; sed, per mercatores de Janua redemptus, ad Angliam propter ejus disturbia redire differens, moritur Veneciis.

A.D. 1403. Pro dicta confirmacione imperatoris istud proponitur thema: "Pater clarifica<sup>1</sup> filium tuum."<sup>2</sup> Et per papam respondetur ad modum collacionis in utroque: "Manus mea auxiliabitur ei."<sup>3</sup> Et ecce confirmacionis bulla: "Bonifacius episcopus servus servorum Dei carissimo filio nostro, Roberto, Bavarie duci, in regem Romanorum electo, salutem et apostolicam benediccionem. Pater immense majestatis altissimus<sup>4</sup> clementi providencia cuncta disponens, terrarum orbem disposuit sub distincione regnorum, illaque consulte dirigi voluit et salubri regimine gubernari, ne humane creature status,<sup>5</sup> que sui creatoris ymaginem et similitudinem representat, tempestuose fluctuacionis mundi confunderetur

Bulla confirmacionis imperatoris.

<sup>1</sup> carifica. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. xvij. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxxviiij. 22.

<sup>4</sup> altissime, MS. This bull is published in Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. Mansi, 1752, tom. viii. 94, where, however, it differs considerably from the text above.

<sup>5</sup> statum. MS.

turbine, vel ejus quietis dulcedine impediretur, quinyomo ut A.D. 1403. omnes sub juris et honestatis regula limitati<sup>1</sup> vita pacifica viverent, et ab offensione alterutrorum abstinere, ac naturali affectu Factorem summum cognoscerent, cognitum colerent et suo reverendo imperio subjacerent. Demum Pater ipse, ex alto prospiciens populum, quem creaverat, dampnationis sententiam incurrisse, regem pacificum, unigenitum filium suum, Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum, misericorditer in mundum pro ipsius redemptione populi destinavit. Qui, carne nostre mortalitatis indutus, populum eundem ab eterne cruciatu mortis eripuit et suo sanguine precioso redemit. Nos igitur, in hac terrestri patria gerentes, licet immeriti, vices ejus, vigilias more pastoris tam corporales quam mentales erigimus<sup>2</sup> visuri quid gregi commisso expediat et quid operis impendi debeat, ut, illius suffulti presidio, cujus sunt terre cardines,<sup>3</sup> cui cogitationes hominum preparantur,<sup>4</sup> quique actus mortalium superat, partes officii salubriter exponamus ad ea que fidelibus necessario expedire viderimus. Sane dudum felicitis recordacionis Urbanus papa sextus, immediatus predecessor noster, provida meditatione considerans mundum positum peccatis exigentibus in maligno, et quod, disponente Domino, cui obediunt universa, Romana mater ecclesia super reges et regna, tanquam mater omnium et magistra, supremum obtinet principatum, ut per ejus ministerium regatur salubriter catholice fidei firmamentum, per diversos nuncios atque literas repetitis vicibus paternis affectibus excitavit karissimum in Christo filium nostrum Wynceslaum, tunc Romanorum et Boemii regem, ut pro defensione militantis ecclesie ac honore et statu sacri imperii, f. 174. prout ejus exigeret officium, ad suscipiendum imperiale diadema ad partes accederet Ytalie. Et videns [eum] ad hoc nimia tepere desidia, imperii electores, tanquam imperii membra pre-

<sup>1</sup> limitata. MS.

<sup>2</sup> erigentes. MS. The passage in Raynaldus is: "Levamus vigilis more pastoris tam corporeos quam mentales oculos in circuitu," etc.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Reg. ij. 8.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Reg. ij. 3.

A.D. 1403. cipua, sepe eum monendo interdum literis nonnunquam nunciis, instantissime requisivit ut prefatum Wynceslaum ad descendendum, premissorum causa, in Ytaliā oportunis modis atque remediis hortarentur, et instanciis ac monicionibus debitīs propulsarent. Demum autem, eodem Urbano predecessore nostro, sicut Domino placuit, ab hac luce subtracto, nos, divina clemencia ad apicem summi apostolatus assumpti, maximo anime fervore flagrantēs ad obviandum scandalis quē Romane ecclesie, sponse nostre, ac consequenter imperio, cernebamus jugiter exoriri, tam per nuncios quam per literas paternis affectibus partes nostras intermisimus,<sup>1</sup> ut prefatum Wynseslaum ad hujusmodi descensum diversis modis quos oportunos putavimus, nichil possibilitatis penitus omittendo quod expediens visum fuerit, inducere valeremus, et videntes exortaciones dicti predecessoris et nostras nichil proficere, ne quid [intentatum]<sup>2</sup> in tam gravi causa ponderosoque negotio providencia apostolice curie amitteret, venerabilibus fratribus et dilectis filiis sacri imperii electoribus crebro nos scripsisse memoramus, ut, attentis periculis [quē] ex tanta socordia Wynseslai prefati ecclesie et imperio ac Christiane religioni jugiter ingruebant, et signanter cum Gallia, quam semper animadvertimus ad usurpationem vel saltem divisionem ecclesie et imperii totis conatibus inhiare, imperialem civitatem Januensem, in ipsius Ytalie faucibus positam, occupasset, eundem W., ad veniendum in Ytaliā more dominorum predecessorum suorum, ut e manibus nostris imperiale diadema reciperet, et ad occurrendum ne predicti Gallici pedem in Ytalia radicari validarent, necnon ecclesiam et imperium juxta sui status debitum defensaret [debitis modis et opportunis remediis et monitionibus excitarent].<sup>2</sup> Tandem electores ipsi, videntes moram ipsius infinita dispendia causare, et exortaciones predictas frustra fore et inanes, ad hanc rem tam sanctam et Christianitati necessariam penitus obduratas, ipsumque W. ad regimen dicti imperii esse omnino inutilem, et ne bona imperii ipsius desidia tenderent irreparabiliter in

<sup>1</sup> interposuimus. Raynaldus.

<sup>2</sup> Supplied from Raynaldus.

collapsus, nobis per eorum nuncium significari curarunt quod, A.D. 1403. prefati W. segnicia diligenter inspecta, ex qua mundo pulularunt<sup>1</sup> discrimina, ipso amoto, ad alterius eleccionem qui eis potenter occurreret procedere disposuerunt, licet ipsius W. deposicio ad nos totaliter spectare noscatur, ad ipsius W. deposicionem a prefato regno Romanorum, auctoritate nostra suffulti, concorditer processerunt, et te, karissimum filium nostrum Bavarie ducem, comitem Palatinum, Renicorumque coelectorem, in regem Romanorum et futurum imperatorem concorditer eligerunt. Tuque, super hoc digesta meditacione prehabita, ad ipsorum et aliorum instanciam, huiusmodi eleccioni consensum tuum liberum prebuidisti. Postmodum vero per solemnes ambaciatores pro parte tua nobis fuerit humiliter supplicatum ut huiusmodi W. deposicionem et tui eleccionem, et quecumque inde secuta auctoritate apostolica approbare, et personam tuam abilem et ydoneam ad suscipiendam prefatam imperialis culminis dignitatem decernere et declarare, de benignitate solita dignaremur. Nos igitur, de omnibus premissis, fide plenaria nobis facta, et de persona tua quantum tua paciebatur absencia, de tuis<sup>2</sup> quoque moribus et condicionibus virtuosis ac devocione quam te ergo nos et Romanam ecclesiam gerere comprobaris, et super hiis omnibus cum fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus diligenti deliberacione prehabita, tuis supplicacionibus inclinati, de ipsorum consensu, ad laudem et gloriam Dei ac gloriam Virginis Marie et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac honorem dicte Romane ecclesie et bonum ac proficuum sacri imperii et prosperum<sup>3</sup> statum mundi, discriminibus et periculis ex dicti W. negligencia verisimiliter venturis, ipsius W. deposicionem et tui eleccionem prefati et quecumque inde secuta rata habentes et grata, te in specialem nostrum et dicte ecclesie filium suscipimus, tibi nostros gratiam et favores concedentes, tuaque persona idonea computata, te pronunciamus et in regem Romanorum assumimus,

<sup>1</sup> ulularunt. MS.<sup>2</sup> votivis. MS.<sup>3</sup> presertim. MS.

A.D. 1403. te idoneum ad hoc declarantes, ac decernentes unccionem et consecracionem imperialem ac imperii diadema per manus nostras tibi fore impendenda; suplentes omnem defectum, qui circa hujusmodi eleccionem inveniri poterit quovismodo, ex certa sciencia et apostolice plenitudine potestatis. Precipientes omnibus fidelibus et vassallis imperii, cujuscunque condicionis existant, eciam si regali aut pontificali dignitate prefulgeant, ut tibi sicut regi Romanorum, in imperatorem promovendo, pareant efficaciter et intendant. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat, etc. Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, kalendis Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno xiiij<sup>mo</sup>.”

f. 174 b.

Anno sequenti, pro Anglie, ut dicitur, corona comiti Marchie captanda, sussitata inter regem et domum de Persy, scilicet comitatus Northumbrie, quia dicto comiti affinem, hostili discordia, ad commocionem regni permaximam cum utraque parte divisi, et disposito in crastino Sancte Marie Magdalene ob hoc bello, rex, ad consilium comitis Dunbar de Scotia, eo quod ad tunc pater domini Henrici Persy et Owenus de Glyndour cum multitudine glomerata contra regem adventuri erant, diem statutum preveniens, contra dictum dominum Henricum et dominum Thomam Persy, comitem tunc Wygornie, dirissimum induxit bellum, et facta ex utraque parte clade ad numerum sexdecim milium in campo vocato Berewyk cruentissima, (ubi et idem rex pro ibidem cadencium animabus hospitale fundavit,) per duo miliaria a Salopia, in vigilia dicte sancte, eidem regi bellum hujusmodi aggredienti cessit victoria. In quo bello dictus dominus Henricus, milicie Christiane flos et gloria, cum dicto patruo suo dolenter occubuit. Unde et illa prophecia exstitit impleta, quod “bestia abjecta duo lune cornua sibi auferet.” Ceciderunt eciam duo nobiles milites in armatura regis, ac si alter rex insigniti, qui causa salvacionis regis in ultima belli acie positi exstiterant. Unde et comes de Duclas de Scotia, in campo cum dicto domino Henrico et ejus captivus existens, cum regi Henrico victoriam acclamari audivisset, mirando

Mors  
Persy.



dixit: “Nonne duos reges Henricos (scilicet dictos milites A.D. 1403. innuendo), manibus meis interfeci? In mala hora nostra adhuc tertium victorem patimur superstitem.”

Plene circuitus indulgentie, aliarum ecclesiarum visitando Circuitus. labores diffusos alleviando, in septem consistunt ecclesiis, scilicet Sanctorum Johannis Latronensis, Marie Majoris, Crucis in Jerusalem, Petri, Pauli, Laurencii extra muros, Fabiani [et] Sebastiani. Item, cum diffusum fuerit visitare omnia loca indulgentie in ecclesia Sancti Petri, citra circuitum septem sufficit altaria visitare, scilicet, Sancti Petri majus, in quo et requiescit, prout et Sanctus Paulus ita in ecclesie sue majori altari, eorum licet capita apud dictum Sanctum Johannem Latronensem auro existant ornata; item, Sancte Crucis, Veronice, Sancti Gregorii, Fabiani et Sebastiani, Leonis pape, et Sancti Andree.

Item, in urbe quatuor existunt patriarchales ecclesie, Patriarch-  
ales. scilicet, Sancti Johannis Latronensis, que est mater urbis et orbis, in qua et est sedes papalis et per quam papa vocatur Pontifex Romanus, olim Constantini magni palacium, Sancto Silvestro per eum ad hoc donatum, sed per Neronem tamen prius constructum; secunda, Sancte Marie Majoris; tertia et quarta, Sanctorum Petri et Pauli, in quibus omnes cardinales tanquam canonici intitulantur, et in quarum altaribus majoribus nemo celebrat nisi papa solus, licet in urbe multe sunt alie ecclesie, prout hoc versu continetur:

“Sunt Rome mille sexcente quinque capelle.”

A quodam coauditore meo in Rota, Neapoli oriundo, habui quod hiis diebus quedam navis ejusdem civitatis a Saracenis capta erat, in qua una nobilis domina existens, potius eligens mori quam per ipsos violari, se subito misit in mare et ita submersa est.

Post dictam cedem inter regem et dictum dominum Henricum Persy contingentem, Owenus cum homunculis cavernas et nemora [relinquens], quasi oportunitatem captans, in multitudine glomerata usque ad Sabrinum mare totam circuit Walliam, et quosque sibi resistentes, aut ultra idem mare ubi

A.D. 1403. per pagenses tanquam Wallici expoliati erant, aut ferro et flamma, eciam ecclesiis non parcendo, unde et ad ruinam finaliter devenit, ad sui dedicionem subegit. Et cum maxima preda ad suas aquilonares Wallie partes, unde panditur omne malum Wallie, cum interna adulteriorum suorum publicorum malediccione, pro suo tutamine, et ad montes rediit Snowdonie.

Homines Bristollie cum armata classe sub capitaneis, Jacobo Clyfford et Willemo Rye, armigeris, Glanmorgancie partes, ecclesiam Landavensem spoliando, invadunt; sed, per miraculum sancti Theliei a pagensibus divicti, cum eorum ruina non modica confuse sunt repulsi.

A.D. 1402. Prior de Launde et dominus Rogerus Claryndone, miles  
Suspensio fratrum. fraterque regis Ricardi spurius, ac undecim de ordine fratrum minorum, in theologia doctores, quia dicto Oweno confederati, per proprios socios regi detecti, apud Tybornam Londoniis, post tractum crudeliter furcis sunt suspensi; multique domini et domine, eciam comitisse, eadem causa carceribus sunt mancipate.

A.D. 1403. Rex ducis Brytanie relictam regisque Navarie sororem,  
Invasio Brutonum. per eam relevari sperans, duxit in uxorem. Sed statim, spe frustrata, Britones nupcias detestantes una cum Gallicis, comite marescallo Aquitanie et domino de Hugvyle Normandie eorum ducibus, in magno exercitu in succursum et expeditionem Oweni intrarunt Walliam, et totam marchiam ferro et flamma devastando nocumenta non modica intulerunt Anglicis.

A.D. 1402, 1406. Rex duas filias suas, unam regi Dacie et alteram [filio] ducis Bavarie tunc imperatoris electi de [quo] supra, cum non  
Maritacio filiarum. modica regni collectacione contulit in uxores.

A.D. 1402. Domus de Persy, modicum ante predictum ejus infortunium,  
f. 175. apud Hyllyndone Hylle in marchia Scocie, in uno conflictu multa milia Scotorum trucidavit, necnon multos nobiles, de quibus et Duclas de quo supra, captivos fortuna belli sui advexit carceres. Ex qua, ut creditur, victoria dicta domus in nimia superbia elata, juxta illud vulgare: "Ante ruinam

cor hominis exaltatur,"<sup>1</sup> collabitur in occasum. Et nemirum, A.D. 1402. quia lignum non sarra cedit nec securis secat sed manus hominis. Ita manus Dei sola victoriam tribuit.

Hiis diebus, ecclesiam Herfordensem vacantem pro presen- A.D. 1404. cium compilatore papa disposuit, sed Anglicorum sibi resistencium invidia suisque literis una cum intoxicacione ipsum regi, unde eciam magnus infortunius iiij annis in terra et in mari velut exul cruciatus exstitit, depravancium, non promotionem sed depressionem ac ultimatum paupertatem omnibus beneficiis et bonis, inter extraneos cum Joseph linguam quam non noverat audiendo, licet pro consilio auro remuneratus, reportavit privatus.

In Anglia interim parlamenta celebrantur multa, in quibus et contra provisiones apostolicas strictiora sunt statuta, et plus solito clerus et populus graviori taxantur collecta. Et nemirum, quia ita gravantur et guerra contra Franciam, Scociam, Hiberniam, Walliam, et Flandriam se defensando, ac sexaginta milibus auri libris a Wallia eis solvi consuetis guerra causante destituti.

Owenus apud Machenllith<sup>2</sup> et montani, sua eciam miseria,<sup>3</sup> cum duellorum et aliarum regaliarum usurpacione, licet ad sui confusionem, celebrat, ymmo simulat seu confyngit parlamenta.

Comes Northumbrie, pater predicti domini H[enrici] incliti, ad instanciam et rogatum totius parliamenti, licet ad cassum, in brevi reconsiliatus exstitit domino regi. In quo parlamento quidam vernaculus, Serlo cognominatus, propter mortem ducis Gloucestrie, de quo supra, trahitur, suspenditur, evisceratur, decapitatur, et quatripartitur.

Presencium compilor, propter emulorum suorum detractaciones, suis scriptis regi literas, licet et in cassum, eidem regi transtulit directas, et per episcopum Sarum sibi presentatas: <sup>Litera regia.</sup> "Humillima ac devotissima recommendacione premissis, cum jugibus oracionibus ad Deum pro salute regie majestatis.

<sup>1</sup> "Ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus."—Prov. xvi. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Machynlleth, co. Montgom.

<sup>3</sup> misera. MS.

A.D. 1404. Excellentissime et clementissime principum, quod cum alias, obtenta per me licencia a celsitudine regia ut curiam Romanam visitarem, sicuti postea visitaveram, placuit sancto in Christo patri ac domino nostro Bonifacio, divina providencia pape moderno, me, licet ad hoc indignum, ipsius sacri palatii dominorum auditorum aggregare collegio; ego vero in Eo confusus, qui aspera in plana convertere ac mentem aridam fonte sue gracie solus potest irrigare, quod insufficienciam meam sue benignitatis rore fecundet, sperans, hujusmodi gratuitum munus, ad laudem Dei et ut culmini regio suisque devotis per hoc utilius obsequi possem, acceptando, illud exerceo, et aliquamdiu, si expensarum morandi fortuna arrideat, prout melius scivero, divina gracia inspirante, exercere propono, offerens me corde et animo regiis beneplacitis et mandatis, quibus juxta parvitatís mee modulum servire jugiter sum paratus; supplicans quam humiliter et devote majestati regie, sub cujus umbra vivo et volito, cum nichil aliud mihi adeo sit acceptum sicuti incolumis status, felix processus, et insignis triumphus ejusdem, quatinus, cum regie pietatis benigna memoria qualiter de absencia alias ejusdem invidie jaculis causata, teste domino meo, fratre vestro, condolui, cui tunc vestri prosperum, ut accidit, predixi regressum, de quo quam felici eciam gavisus, prout spero vestram regiam non latere bonitatem, ad quod particeps mea servicia, licet imbesillia, usque ad apicem majestatis regie condignissime adeptam, propriis expensis fidelissime adhibui, meeque tantilitatis etatem jam provectam uberius promovendam, caritatis intuitu, eadem majestas dignetur habere recommissam. Hanc mei humilis et fidelis sui oratoris ac servuli bone voluntatis oblacionem innatis sibi clemencia et mansuetudine placite accipiat, meis detractoribus sue pietatis aures nullatenus inclinatura, sed me cum rebus et amicis meis sub alis et protectione celsi brachii sui benignius dignetur confovere; cui contra hostes votive triumphare, hic quoque feliciter et diu regnare, et postea ad regna pertransire celestia concedat Ille per quem omnes reges et principes dominantur. Scrip-

tum Rome, regni vestri anno quinto, mensis Septembris die A.D. 1404. duodecimo."

In festo sancti Michaelis, Francie, Castelle, Arrogonie regum aliorumque Avionensis presidentis principum obedienciariorum ex parte, ad Bonefacium papam, eis publicam audienciam prestantem, solempnis pro unione ecclesie venit ambassata. Quem archiepiscopus sancti Poncii de Francia affatur in hec verba, ipsum nullatenus papam approbando: "Metuendissime domine, si non proprie aliorum saltem animabus compaciimini, dominus meus ad omnem unionis viam etiam usque ad mortem inclinari se offert paratum." Unde et dominus Bonefacius ita prorupit: "Dominus tuus est falsus, sismaticus, et ipsemet antichristus." "Salva reverencia, pater, non ita. Dominus meus est sanctus, justus, verus, catholicus, et in vera sancti Petri cathedra residens;" et ultra cum impetu idem archiepiscopus hec protulit verba: "et non est symoniacus." Unde Bonefacius, illis verbis adeo attonitus, in cameram rediens infra biduum post vita eradicatur humana. De quo, eadem nocte, duas visiones habui. Prima erat, quod beatum Petrum, pontificalibus solempniter insignitum, ultra sui portam sedere, et alium figuratum tristem et squalidum papam a sinistris sedentem in terram proicere conspexi. Secunda apparuit mihi una vulpes, canibus insecuta et in aqua ramum salicis superexcrecentis in ore pro sui sustentacione tenens, usque f. 175 b. ad nares absconsa, et iterum a canibus ibidem explorata timore quod aquam dimisit et in foveam pro ultimato refugio intrans de cetero disparuit. Unde intellexi quod vulpes, licet semper rapax, macra tamen continue remanet; sic et ipse symonia plenus nunquam tamen usque ad sepulturam satiat.

Item unus Teutonicus ostendit mihi quandam literam per unum sanctum virum a partibus directam, qua et ipsa asseruit se Sanctum Michaellem vidisse eundem Bonefacium violenta alapa ad terram proiesisse; et ita in die suo, etc., ut supra.

Per mortem domini pape finitur salvus ambassiatorum conductus. Unde per capitaneum castri Sancti Angeli in eo detruduntur captivi.

A.D. 1404. Pro eleccione novi pontificis Romani cardinales intrant conclave, regis Neapolitani suorumque sex mille militum custodie commendatum.

Insurgunt Romani pestiferi in duas partes Guelforum et Gybilynorum, et per tres septimanas cladibus et spoliis et homicidiis se mutuo infestantes et pro pape in parte eorum singulari creacione instantes, ad palacium tamen Sancti Petri et conclave propter dictam custodiam accedere non valentes. Unde eorum parcialitas unum extra utriusque gremium, Innocencium scilicet septimum, in Solmona oriundum, in papam eligi causavit. Cujus eleccione publicata, Romani ipsius hospicium invadunt et, more eorum rapaci, ymmo verius corruptela mordaci, ipsum spoliant, nichil penitus quantum fenestrarum barras in eo relinquentes.

Conclave est locus continuus, nullo intermedio separatus, pro eleccione futuri pape cardinalibus deputatus; et debet esse undique conclusus et muratus, ita quod, preter unum parvum ingressus hostiolum, et post hujusmodi ingressum omnino claudendus, remanebit fortiter munitus. In quo et una parva fenestra pro victualibus, propriis expensis cardinalium, eis attribuendis, et ad aperiendi et claudendi oportunitatem erit aptata. Et habent singuli parvas pro dormiendi et reficiendi necessitate tabulatas camerulas; loca tantum tria communia, scilicet privetam, capellam, et eleccionis tractande locum solum habituri; post primos tres dies, dum in eo fuerint, unum solum carniū vel pissium ferculum in die, et, post quinque extunc dies, solum panem et vinum, usque ad concordiam accepturi.

O Deus! Cesaris, et Augusti, Salamonis, et Alexandri, Assueri, Darii, et Constantini magni, quo pertransivit gloria; sed quo transibit et ista? Futuro eventui sit committenda!

“Sedetur hic in trono et osculantur pedes.

Regis et Cesaris non curantur edes.

Christus dedit veniam, nulla data mammona.

Hic non intrat aliquis, nisi facta annona.”

Christus fuit humilis et ejus vicarius piscator quam mitis. A.D. 1404. Sed hic me Plato quiescere jubet, etc.

Promocionem hujusmodi domini mei Innocencii ita providi, quod a sacristia Sancti Petri ad ejus altare, rubiis de serico auri textis papalibus insignitus ornamentis, missam ascendebat celebraturus.

Papa mortuus, pro obsequiis per novem dies tentis, post electionis publicationem ad Sancti Petri deferitur ecclesiam.

A novo papa cum Romanis feda fit concordia (quia cito post contrita) quod, retentis pape urbis dominio cum Sancti Petri burgo et Sancti Angeli castro ac sex milia florenorum censu<sup>1</sup> annuo, necnon senatoris, dum tamen ultra centum miliaria a Roma oriundi, prefectione, cetera in Romanorum regimine cederent et comoda.

Rex predictus, Campania et maritima ad annum quinque annorum censum, quod postea causavit ecclesie tedium, a papa per eum captis, cum suo exercitu recessit a Roma.

In festo Sancti Martini, novus papa pro sui coronacionis solempnitate a palacio Sancti Petri ad ejus ecclesiam descendit, et ad altare Sancti Gregorii, auditoribus vestimenta sibi deferentibus, pro missa investitur. Et in capelle Sancti Gregorii ad hoc egressu capelle sue clericus unam longam cannam cum stupa in summitate gerens, qua stupa ignita per candelam, in hanc vocem clamat: "Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi!" ac iterato in medio ita bis alciori voce: "Pater sancte, pater sanctissime!" et tertia vice, ad ingressum altaris sancti Petri, trina ita voce: "Pater sancte, pater sancte, pater sancte!" altissima voce; et statim singulis vicibus extinguitur stupa. Prout et in coronacione imperatoris, in summitate glorie sue, cum omni genere artificii eorum ministrorum cujuscunque generis et coloris lapides per latamos sibi offerri solebant, ita ei clamando: "Excellentissime princeps, de quo genere lapidum vis tibi tumbam fieri?" Item novus papa, finita per eum missa, altum theatrum ad hoc ordinatum ascendit et ibi per car-

<sup>1</sup> sensu, MS.

A D. 1404. dinalem Hostiensem, quia collegii decanum, triplici corona aurea solempniter coronatus existit. Prima designat potestatem in temporalibus; secunda, paternitatem in spiritualibus; tertia, et magnificenciam in celestibus. Et subsequenter, in eodem apparatu albo, prout et omnes prelati ita in albis, eciam ab inde ad ecclesiam Sancti Johannis Latronensis, quia propriam pape cathedralem sedem, per Romam equitant. Ad detestacionem tamen pape Agnetis, cujus ymago de petra cum filio suo prope Sanctum Clementem in via recta existit, per obliquum declinans, pro sui intronizacione, eandem ecclesiam papa, ab equo descendens, ingreditur. Ubi in porphirea cathedra, ob hoc forata ex parte [inferiori, ut probetur] per juniorem cardinalem quod habet virilia, sedet; et, cum cantu "Te laudamus," ad summum altare defertur.

Lex Judeorum. Judei, in via eorum, legem, hoc est vetus testamentum, ei obtulerunt, ejus confirmacionem petentes; quam papa, eo quod per eam ad agnicionem Filii Dei et fidem nostram devenimus, dulce in suis recepit manibus, et ita respondit: "Lex vestra bona est; vos tamen non intelligitis eam, quia vetera transierunt, omnia nova facta sunt." Sed quasi obprobriose, quia eam non intelligunt in errore indurati, ultra sinistram scapulam, non infirmando nec confirmando, ipsam retradit eisdem.

f. 176. Item equitabant cum papa non solum ejus curiales et clerus, ymmo eciam tresdecim urbis regiones cum eorum capitaneis et vexillis precedentibus. In transitu, ad evacuationem populi pressuram, tribus vicibus jactabantur missilia in vulgus, per quorum colleccionem facilius erat transitus.

Jam gaudeo in tanta solempnitate me ministrum interfuisse, prout et ita in coronacione Henrici regis Anglie quarti ac confirmacione imperii, ut supra, eciam interfui.

O Deus! in quantam Roma est dolenda, quia olim principibus et eorum palaciis plena, jam tigurriis, furibus, lupis, et vermibus, desertisque locis, eciam per ipsosmet Romanos se mutuo confringentes quam dolenter noscitur desolata! Ab Enea post Trojanum bellum, prout et nacio mea ejus prone-



pote, originem, Roma, traxisti; unde et mutuo est locus A.D. 1404. dolendi. Et nemirum primitus imperium per gladium, secundo ejus sacerdocium per canteloquium rodebant mundum. Unde versus:

“Romanus rodit, quos rodere non valet odit.

Dantes exaudit, non dantibus hostia claudit.”

Unde et quidam Teutonicus, coram me super uno beneficio litigans et anticipatione date facta per cameram pape venditus, ait:

“Roma dolenda, dole, quia laus perit et decus in te;

Nam vendere defendis, tu tamen omnia vendis.

Sic quoque transibis, quia heu! vendendo peribis.”

Vacante ecclesia Londoniensi, collegium auditorum unanimiter ad papam ascendit, rogando quatinus dominum Guidonem Mone, episcopum Menevensem, ad ipsam transferret, et de Menevensi ecclesia istorum compilatori provideret. Quod et sibi summe placuit, ita dicendo: “Regracior vobis permaxime quod ipsum ita recommissum habetis; et nos gaudemus de tanta oportunitate qua sibi poterimus de meliori ecclesia patrie sue providere, quia solempnis ecclesia est. Et bene ejus statum et dictum Guidonem Mone, tempore quo fuimus collector in Anglia, novimus.” Sed, devulgato negotio, cum clamore valido et ore obtestantes regi<sup>1</sup> ac cardinalibus in Anglia beneficiatis minando quod, si hoc permetterent, indignante rege, beneficia sua perderent, jurarunt eciam quod rex eundem compilatorem ad carceres et furcas mitteret. Insuper mercatoribus, ne sibi de pecuniis providerent, et sub pena expellendi socios ab Anglia prohibuerunt. Et certe hic fuit summum negotii impedimentum, et ita frustratum.

Die natalis Domini, misse pape et conviviis, prout et in aliis festis, cum aliis co-auditoribus meis officiariisque<sup>2</sup> interfui. Et in prima missa, ad dextrum cornu altaris unus de auro perornatus gladius, erecto mucrone unum capellum cum

<sup>1</sup> regio. MS.

<sup>2</sup> mei officiisque. MS.

A.D. 1404. duabus labellis ad modum mitre episcopalis portante, ponebatur, ad effectum quod imperator met, si presens esset, cum illo gladio extracto evangelium : "Exiit edictum a Cesare," tanquam diaconus, quia unctus, legeret, et eundem gladium a papa pro se haberet. Sed, propter imperatoris absenciam, uno diacono cardinale evangelium legente, comiti de Malepella, quia tunc nobiliori presenti, eundem gladium contulit papa. In eadem missa, dupliciter leguntur evangelium et epistola : in Latinis per duos Latinos, et in Grecis, ad eorum approbacionem quia dicunt se expulsos ab ecclesia, et per duos Grecos.

Papa unum nobilem Romanum militem in hospitalis Sancti Johannis creavit priorem, ipsius mareschallo ipsum gladio cingente; sed papa, extracto gladio, manu solum in fronte percussit eum, dicens : "Hunc ictum pro republica et fide Christiana sustineas." Novus miles et alios circumstantes osculatur milites, et de manu pape tunicam religionis induitur, talisque suis calcaria aurea de mandato pape per alium imponuntur militem.

Duo religiosi de Yndia nigerimi barbati papam salutant, et, in signum fidei Christiane, cruces ad eorum pectora delatas necnon eorum baptisma ad aurem dextram non flumine sed flamine ostendunt, dicentes : "A tempore quo in omnem terram apostolorum Jhesu Christi sonus exivit, et presertim a tempore Sancti Thome, apostoli nostri, licet alii deviaverint a fide, nunquam tamen deviavimus, sed veri sumus Christiani." Et gratam audienciam habuerunt.

Supplicacio. Usk.

Hujusmodi supplicacionem presencium compiler tradidit pape : "Pater sancte, in villa seu burga de Usk, Landavensis dioceseos, est quoddam monasterium priorisse et conventus monialium honestissimum, sub professione ordinis Sancti Benedicti, ab olim competenter in possessionibus, redditibus, et aliis proventibus honeste dotatum, devotissime Deo famulancium; in quo monasterio solum virgines de nobili prosapia procreate recipi consueverunt et solent. Jam vero, propter incendia, spolia, et alios fortuitos casus ex guerris in illis

partibus frementibus et alias causatos, idem monasterium ad A.D. 1404. tantam inopiam devenit, quod, nisi eidem per sanctitatem vestram de remedio cicius provideatur oportuno, eedem moniales pro victu et vestitu aut discurrendo per patrias mendicari, seu in domibus amicorum privatis morari, compellentur; ex quo verisimiliter scandala timentur provenire. Et, cum infra cepta dicti monasterii sit quedam capella in honore Sancte Radegundis virginis monialis, olim Francie regine, constructa, ad quam homines illius patrie magnam gerunt devocionem, et eam frequenter et presertim infra festa Pasche et Pentecostes visitare solent, ideo supplicat sanctitatem vestram devotus capellanus vester, sacri palatii apostolici causarum auditor, qui de eadem villa seu burgo originem duxit, et cujus nonnulli earundem monialium existunt consanguinie, quatinus, monasterio priorisse et monialibus supradictis pro paterno compacientes affectu, omnibus Christicolis qui in secundis feriis dictorum festorum devote, tociens quociens dictam capellam visitaverint, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturis, et ad eam manus porrexerint adjutrices, aliquam, eidem sanctitati complacentem, indulgenciam dignemini concedere graciose, cum clausulis necessariis et oportunis, ut in forma." Et ita papa signavit: "Fiat, ut petitur," pro quinque annis et totidem quadragenis prout in dicta capella patet.

Prope jam palacium Sancti Petri hospitalis<sup>1</sup> luporum et f. 176 b. canum, de nocte sepius ad hoc surgens, condiciones inspexi. Nam, canibus pro domorum tutamine in dominorum suorum hostiis latrantibus, lupi in medio majorum minores canes secum in predam abstulerunt, et licet sic ablati, per majores defendi sperantes, forcius inde murmurarent, de locis suis tamen, alcius ob hoc licet latrantes, nullatenus se movebant. Et sic cogitavi quod consimilis liga inter fortes patrie et exules silve in partibus dinoscitur esse.

Gens Lumbardie viperina, in Guelfos et Gibilinos divisa,

<sup>1</sup> hospitatis. MS.

A.D. 1404. in spolio et incendio mutuaque clade ac mortuorum carnes rodendo, prolesque proprias, si ex adversa parcialitate productas, ad petras elidendo, se et eorum civitates nonnullas hoc tempore exterminarunt.

Romani, circa Dominicam in Quinquagesima, cum capitibus regionum, ad agonem, tanquam fallerata fallanx, conveniunt; et juxta id beati Pauli dictum: "Omnes quidem currunt,"<sup>1</sup> etc. pro bravio fortiter certant. Tres magnos anulos argenteos, ad unam altam cordam ligatos, ponunt, et in equis, ut lanceas in eos mittant, currunt, inde hujusmodi anulos habituri. In isto ludo urbis senator,<sup>2</sup> duo conservatores, et septem regentes ejusdem in magno apparatu, stipiti et securi pro cediciosorum decapitatione precedentibus, intersunt. Eodem ludo taberne crapula, sed miserie epula, cum indomita luxuria, ut Belial et Belfagor filii, quam bestialiter discurrunt Romani.

Deinde in ipsa Dominica, Judeorum expensis, ad quatuor currus, octo apros vivos continentes et scarleto rubio contactos, ad summitatem montis omnis terre, ideo quia ex omni terra mundi in signum universalis dominii illuc allata compositus, octo ponuntur tauri indomiti, et, per descensum montis dissolutis curribus et bestiis liberis, omnia cadunt Romanorum in predam; et tunc quilibet ac si dissolutio impetu<sup>3</sup> dictas bestias invadit suo instrumento. Itaque, si quis aliquid de hujusmodi preda uxori non attulerit, quasi miser et vecors ad Sancti Panchardi festum cum ea non coibet. Et sepius in hujusmodi discursu cedes et vulnera, et presertim curtesanis, propter uxores et filias sibi exosis, inferunt.

Postea tres pannos, primum aureum pro melioribus, secundum argenteum pro secundis equis, et tertium sericum pro equabus velocius currentibus, in lancee ponuntur summitate; et, si quis hujusmodi equester prius eos tetigerit, eos pro se in bravium reportat.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 24.

<sup>2</sup> cenator. MS.

<sup>3</sup> infetu. MS.

Et dēum a dicto bestiarum incursu, aliqui cum modicis A.D. 1404. frustis, aliqui cum intestinis et stercoribus in gladiatorum mucronibus, pomparum cum vilitate transeunt ad uxores.

Papa in festo Purificacionis candelas benedicit, et, in Candeledra cathedra sua sedens, non solum singulis presentibus sed etiam omnibus mundi principibus et principissis catholicis easdem distribuit, majores et minores juxta dignitatum et graduum distinctiones. Et erant de alba virginea cera. Et ita etiam in festo cinerum, in propria persona, omnibus presentibus cineres distribuit; me teste, quia dictas candelas pro rege et regina Anglie recepi et cinerum bassinam sibi tenui.

In primo adventu meo Romam, audiui de quodam propheta pseudo se Heliam esse, ac per Dominum Patrem ad generandum sibi Christum filium in terram missum, ac inpungisse Christum pede, dum crucem ad tormenta portaret, ac illam mulierem, que ab eo inpregnari et Christum concepisse mereretur, benedictam in eternum et ultra fore, et veram gloriam que fidei Marie attribuitur habituram, asserendo. In latebris et angulis tamen cerimonias et ritus suos faciendo, se caute occultabat. Unde et domine Romane ab eo supponende, victualium cum deliciis, quam avide ipsum visitabant. Sed finaliter, a Romanis exploratus, a latebris extrahitur, ad capitolum ducitur, et ibi, se ultra centum dominas Romanas uxores, viduas, et virgines, et ita etiam Veniciis, violasse fatendo, crematur.

Dominica in medio Quadragesime, qua cantatur: "Letare Jerusalem," ad alleviamen Quadragesime jam mediate, papa in missa unum magni precii rosarium, auro et argento mira arte compositum, ac mista murra et balsamo ad maximum suavitatis odorem per locum redolentem delinitum, manu sua gerit, ac post missam nobiliori militi misse interessenti elargitur, cum quo et ipse et amici sui in sui honorem, ipsum in manu gerendo, ipso die postea phallerati equitant.

Ex parte imperatoris Constantinopolitani, solempnes ad papam venerunt ambasciatores, injuste se imperio Romano, eis ex persona Constantini magni descendentibus debito,

Pseudo-  
propheta  
genitor  
antichristi.

Ambasciata  
Grecorum.

A.D. 1404. privatos, ac per Almanie tyrannum nequiter usurpato, allegantes, et presertim cum toto regno Neapolitano et tota Lumbardia restitui, aut aliter diem et campum utrique parti ante urbem super hujusmodi jure ad bellandum per eum assignari, petentes. Papa respondit quod, propter eorum hereses et scismata, et presertim de Spiritu Sancto, quia ipsum solum a Patre et nullatenus a Filio procedere asserentes, nec vocalem confessionem facientes, ac quia in pane fermento conficientes, eodem imperio justissime erant privati; et subridendo hoc addidit: "Sanguinis Christiani effusionem tractare non affectamus."

A quibus Grecis et habui quod Grecie proceres a dicto Constantino ejusque tribus avunculis, Treharn, Leolyn, et Mewryc, aliisque triginta milibus Britonibus cum eo de Britania illuc advectis, omnino descenderunt; ac quod hujusmodi Britonum genus, sue nobilitatis ac dominacionis in signum, secures portant in terra, et non alii. Habui ultra quod per Tartaros et Turcos ipsorum imperium stat quasi exinanitum; et ita Britonum regnum, eorum origo, per Saxones noscitur desolatum.

Palme.

In festo Palmarum, papa palmas et frondes sanctificari facit, et demum easdem palmas, prout et supra candelas, eciam distribuit, expensis Januencium omnino transmissas; sed, ipsis palmis deficientibus, olivarum saltim presentibus, dantur et rami. Sed papa met duas palmas et duos dactalorum magni ponderis ramos portat plenos, ad cujus ponderis alleviamen duo sibi assistunt milites.

Cena  
Domini.

In cena Domini, olivum et crisma papa conficit, et post missam, extra portam Sancti Petri, cum omni solempnitate theatrum ascendit ac populum . . . . .







CHRONICLE  
OF  
ADAM OF USK.



# THE CHRONICLE

OF

## ADAM OF USK.

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OUR gracious king Edward departing this life on the eve A.D. 1377. of the Nativity of St. John Baptist,<sup>1</sup> in the fifty-second year of his reign, Richard, son of Edward, prince of Wales, the eldest son of king Edward—a boy of eleven years, and fair among men as another Absalom—came to the throne, and was crowned at Westminster on St. Kenelm's day.<sup>2</sup>

During this king Richard's reign great things were looked for. But he being of tender years, others, who had the care of him and his kingdom, did not cease to inflict on the land acts of wantonness, extortions, and unbearable wrongs. Whence sprang that unnatural deed, when the commons of A.D. 1381. the land, and specially those of Kent and Essex, under their wretched leader Jack Straw,<sup>3</sup> declaring that they could no longer bear such wrongs, and above all wrongs of taxes and subsidies, rose against the lords and the king's officers, and, marching to London on the eve of Corpus Christi,<sup>4</sup> in the year of our Lord 1381, struck off the heads of Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor, sir

<sup>1</sup> This date is not correct. Edward III. died on the Sunday next before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the 21st of June, 1377, not on the eve of the feast, the 23rd of the month; and in the fifty-first, not the fifty-second, year of his reign.

<sup>2</sup> More correctly, the eve of St. Kenelm, the 16th of July.

<sup>3</sup> Wat Tyler is quite lost sight of. Knighton, in like manner, confuses the two men: "ductor eorum proprio nomine Watte Tyler, sed jam nomine mutato vocatus est Jakke Strawe." — Twysden, *Hist. Angl. Script.* X. c. 2636.

<sup>4</sup> 12th June.

- A. 1381. Robert Hales, the treasurer, and many others, near the Tower of London. And on the places where these lords were beheaded stand at this day two marble crosses, a lasting memorial of so monstrous a deed.

p. 2. In this rising of the commons many great men of the land were in many places beheaded. The Savoy, the palace of the duke of Lancaster and the fairest in the kingdom, standing near London on the bank of the Thames, was utterly destroyed by fire, from the commons' hatred of the duke; and the duke himself, for fear of them, fled into Scotland.<sup>1</sup> To appease them and to quiet their fury, the king granted that the state of villeinage, as well in their persons as in their labour, should be henceforth done away, freedom fully given, and all prisoners set at large. And this he commanded and made to be openly proclaimed throughout the counties of the kingdom. And then what a throe of grief passed through the desolated land! For they boasted that they would slay all those of higher birth, would raise up king and lords for themselves, would stablish new laws, and, in a word, would make new, or rather disfigure, the face and estate of the whole island. Then every man struck off the head of his enemy, and despoiled his richer neighbour. But, by the mercy of God, when their leader, being in Smithfield near London, doffed not his hood before the king nor in anything did reverence to the king's majesty, his head was deftly struck off, in the very midst of his flock of kites, by sir William Walworth, knight and citizen of London; and straightway, being raised on the point of a sword, it was shown before them. Then the commons in sore dread, seeking flight by

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that John of Gaunt was at this time in the north, negotiating a truce with Scotland. Knighton (2640-2642) tells us that so unpopular was his name that his duchess was refused admission into his own castle at Pontefract, and he himself was denied hospitality by the earl of Northumberland; and that it was reported that a large force of the insurgents was sent north in pursuit of him. He retired to Edinburgh on a safe-conduct from the Scots, by whom he was well entertained.

stealth, there cast away their usurping arms, and as A.D. 1381. though guiltless of such riot and wickedness, like foxes into their holes, they pitifully crept home. But the king and the lords pursued them, and some they had drawn by horses, some they slew with the sword, some they hanged on the gallows, some they quartered; and they destroyed thousands.<sup>1</sup>

In this same year came into England one Pileus,<sup>2</sup> cardinal priest of Saint Praxedes, to treat, on behalf of the emperor of Germany and king of Bohemia, with the council of England of and about a marriage between our king and the lady Ann, sister of the emperor,<sup>3</sup> who afterwards became thereby our most gracious queen, though she died without issue. At his coming, this cardinal, falsely feigning himself legate *a latere* and as having the power of the pope, then p. 3. did exercise the papal offices. And among other things he made me notary, though to no purpose, in the house of the friars preachers of London, where he was then dwelling. Thus did he gather together countless money, and, the treaty of marriage settled, departed from England with his gains,

<sup>1</sup> The severity of the punishments inflicted after the suppression of the outbreak is fully set forth in the pages of Walsingham's History. Richard, however, interfered to prevent indiscriminate slaughter of the insurgents when first beaten in the field.—Wals. *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls edition) i. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Pileus de Prata, bishop of Padua, and, in 1370, archbishop of Ravenna. He was one of the papal legates employed, at Bruges, in negotiating a peace between England and France, in 1375. At the papal schism, in 1378, he threw in his lot with Urban VI., by whom he was made cardinal, and was sent nuncio to Germany. In 1386, he seceded to Clement VII., who employed him in an unsuccessful attempt to break the power of Urban in Florence. But three years after, on the death of Urban, he deserted Clement for Boniface IX., who made him cardinal bishop of Tusculum. This addition to his honours suggested the nickname of "*Cardinalis trium Pileorum*." He was further appointed legate at Viterbo; but he exasperated the people to such a degree that they drove him out. Altogether, the cardinal does not seem to have been a very amiable character, and he was probably not much regretted when he died in 1401.—Ciaconius, *Vitæ Pont. Rom.* ij. 637.

<sup>3</sup> Wenceslaus, emperor of Germany, 1378.

A.D. 1382. to his own condemnation; idly trusting that the pope would approve these his acts. And, after his departure, the said lady Ann was bought for a great price by our lord the king, for she was much sought in marriage by the king of France;<sup>1</sup> and she was then sent over into England to be crowned queen.

According to the saying of Solomon: "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child,"<sup>2</sup> in the time of the youth of the same Richard many misfortunes, both caused thereby and happening therefrom, ceased not to harass the kingdom of England, as has been before said and as will afterwards more fully appear, even to great disorder of the state, and to the last undoing of king Richard himself and of those who too fondly clung to him. Amongst all other misfortunes, nay, amongst the most wicked of all wicked things, even errors and heresies in the catholic faith, England, and above all London and Bristol,<sup>3</sup> stood corrupted, being infected by the seeds which one master John Wycliffe sowed, polluting as it were the faith with the tares of his baleful teaching. And the followers of this master John, like Mahomet, by preaching things pleasing to the powerful and the rich, namely, that the withholding of tithes and even of offerings and the reaving of temporal goods from the clergy were praiseworthy, and to the young, that self-indulgence was a virtue, most wickedly did scatter abroad murder, snares, strife, variance, and discords, which last to this day, and which, I fear, will

<sup>1</sup> This is not stated by the other chroniclers. Knighton (col. 2644) says: "dedit imperatori, ut dicebatur, pro maritagio decem mille libras, præter alias expensas in quærendo eam et adducendo eam sumptibus suis propriis." *Thomas v. 110.*

<sup>2</sup> Eccles. x. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Adam of Usk, as a native of Monmouthshire, would naturally take an interest in what went on in the neighbouring city of Bristol. John Purvey, Wycliffe's follower and part-translator of the Bible, preached there; and it is not improbable that Wycliffe himself also did so, as, in 1375, he was presented by Edward III. to the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trim.—Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol*, ij. 164.

last even to the undoing of the kingdom. Whence, in many parts of the land, and above all in London and in Bristol, they, like the Jews at Mount Horeb on account of the molten calf (Exodus xxxij.), turning against each other, righteously had to grieve for twenty-three thousand of their fellows who suffered a miserable fate.<sup>1</sup> The people of England, wrangling about the old faith and the new, every day are, as it were, on the point of bringing on themselves discord and ruin. And p. 4. I fear that it will happen as once it did, when many citizens of London true to the faith rose against the duke of Lancaster to slay him, because he favoured the said master John, so that, hurrying from his table into a boat hastily provided, he fled across Thames and hardly escaped with his life.<sup>2</sup> Such errors and heresies grew in the city of London to so great a height, because by such cause are fostered strife and variance, that, when such as were accused thereof came to answer before their ordinaries, the people were wont to run together in thousands, some accusing, others defending, them, with clamour and strife, as if ready to rush at each other.<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1382. A.D. 1377.

<sup>1</sup> I suppose that this round number of 23,000 is intended to represent the total of sufferers down to the time when the chronicle was written, that is, after the beginning of the reign of Henry V.

<sup>2</sup> In February, 1377, when Wycliffe appeared in St. Paul's to answer the charges brought against him. A quarrel arising between the duke of Lancaster, who was present as a supporter of Wycliffe, and William Courtney, bishop of London, the duke made use of violent language, which roused the anger of the Londoners, who attacked the Savoy and would have certainly done the duke mischief, had he not escaped by boat on the Thames. — Walsingham, *Hist.* i. 325; *Archæolog.* xxij. 256; *Chronicon Angliæ*, 1328—1388 (Rolls Series), 119, 397.

<sup>3</sup> Walsingham lays stress upon the popularity of Wycliffe's opinions among the Londoners. He also refers to the interference in his behalf of the princess of Wales; and further tells us of the way in which the people interposed, in a passage which illustrates the words of our chronicler: "Insuper nec illud esse silendum æstimo, cum episcopi prædicti cum isto schismatico in capella archiepiscopi apud Lambhith convenissent, non dico cives tantum Londonienses, sed viles ipsius civitatis, se impudenter ingerere præsumperunt in eandem capellam, et verba facere pro eodem, et istud negotium impedire."—*Hist. Angl.* i. 356, ij. 65.

A.D. 1414. So great, too, grew their malice, that, at the time of the second parliament of king Henry the fifth, hereinafter written, these Lollards, flocking to London from all parts of the land, thought to have destroyed the clergy there at that time assembled.<sup>1</sup> But my lord of Canterbury, forewarned of their evil design, found fitting remedies, as will hereafter be told.

A.D. 1386. Owing to the many ill-starred crises of king Richard's reign, which were caused by his youth, a solemn parliament was held at Westminster, wherein twelve of the chief men of the land were advanced, by full provision of parliament, to the government of the king and the kingdom, to bridle the wantonness and extravagance of his servants and flatterers, and, in short, to reform the business of the land; but, alas! only to lead to the weary deeds which are hereinafter written.<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1387. The king, bearing it ill that by this appointment the due freedom of his majesty should be bridled by his own lieges, and urged by his servants who were angered that their evil gains were thereby prevented, ceased not to thwart those who were thus set in authority, till it ended in the destruction of the king himself, his abettors, and many of these same

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reads "Henrici quarti;" but, as there was no rising of the Lollards at that time, I think that the gathering in St. Giles's-fields, under sir John Oldcastle, must be referred to. The actual date of the rising was in January, while Henry the fifth's second parliament, which was held at Leicester, did not meet till April, 1414.

<sup>2</sup> The actual number of the commissioners appointed by the Wonderful Parliament of 1386 was eleven, or fourteen if the three principal officers of state be included. The eleven were: the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the abbat of Waltham, the earl of Arundel, John de Cobham, Richard le Scrope, and John Devereux. Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, had replaced Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, as chancellor; John Gilbert, bishop of Hereford, was treasurer; and John de Waltham, keeper of the privy seal. It will be remembered that John of Gaunt was at this time in Spain, as a reason for his name not appearing on the commission.



rulers. And from thence alas ! what griefs and weary deeds A.D. 1387. followed, and specially concerning the death of those nobles, the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel, it will appear more fully hereafter. To proceed : those who thus urged on the king, in order to the sudden suppression of the twelve rulers, planned that a general council should be held in the p. 5. Tower of London, wherein they thought suddenly and at one blow, by means of an ambush of armed men, to destroy the twelve when summoned to the council. But the Almighty disposed the twelve, being forewarned of that wicked design, to come in such strength that the king and his abettors, disordered by their warlike preparation, feared that the kingdom would rise in their favour. Wherefore a peace was made, though a hollow one. On hearing the news, our lady the princess, the mother of the king, with heavy grief in her heart, and not sparing to toil on even by night, hastened from Wallingford to London to allay the discord. And on her knees she prayed the king, her son, as he looked for her blessing, in no wise to bend to the wishes of flatterers, and specially of those who were now urging him on ; otherwise he would bring down her curse upon him. But the king with reverence raised her up and promised that he would willingly be guided by the counsel of the twelve. To whom his mother replied : " At thy coronation, my son, I rejoiced that it had fallen to my lot to be the mother of an anointed king ; but now I grieve, for I foresee the fall which threatens thee, the work of accursed flatterers." Then the king passed with his mother to Westminster Hall, and there, seated on his throne of state, by her mediation, made his peace with the twelve guardians ; yet did he it falsely and with deceit.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adam has here succeeded in mixing up several events in the most admirable confusion. He tells us further on that we must not read this earlier part of his chronicle as consecutive history ; and the hint is wanted nowhere more than in this his account of Richard's attempt to cast off the thralldom in which the Wonderful Parliament had placed him. The

A.D. 1387. Soon after, the earl of Oxford<sup>1</sup> went with royal letters into the county of Chester, and led back with him a great armed power of the men of those parts, for the destruction of the twelve. But the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Derby, Arundel, Nottingham, and Warwick, were forewarned thereof, and begirt with a stately host, before the men of Chester could reach the king, routed the earl's army on the eve of St. Thomas the Apostle,<sup>2</sup> at Radcot-bridge in Oxfordshire. And the earl himself they drove in flight beyond hope of return ; for he died beyond seas. Then, too,

stories of plots laid by Richard for the destruction of his enemies are so many, and told in so many different ways in the chronicles, that some confusion in the mind of the writer may be pardoned. Knighton (col. 2681) first reports the rumour that the king, who had retired to Eltham on the meeting of the parliament, in 1386, designed to assassinate a deputation of forty of the members whom he had summoned to appear before him. Walsingham (ij. 150) records a plot to invite the duke of Gloucester and the parliamentary opponents of the earl of Suffolk to a banquet in the city, and there slay them. The monk of Evesham (p. 75) repeats this story, adding, "*Michael statuit (ne dicam, hoc esse regis commentum).*" The commons themselves, in their petition against the duke of Ireland's party, refer to some such design, saying that the traitors "*frent que nostre seigneur le Roi commanda a Meire de Loundre de faire sudeinement lever un graunt poare de gentz de Loundre, d'occire et mettre au mort touz les ditz seigneurs et communs horpris ceux qui furrunt de lour coveine.*" (Rot. Parl. iij. 231, art. 15). Again, in 1387, after the council of Nottingham, when the revolted lords were invited by Richard to a conference at Westminster, they advanced with extreme caution on the report of an ambush in the Mews. (Wals. ii. 165 ; Mon. Evesh. 91 ; Knighton, 2700.) Unfortunately for the story of the intervention of the princess of Wales, that lady had already died in 1385. However, the fact remains that, not long before her death, she did undertake a fatiguing journey to reconcile Richard with his uncle, the duke of Lancaster ; though the words which are placed in her mouth by our chronicler are not recorded elsewhere. (Wals. ij. 126 ; Mon. Evesh. 60.)

<sup>1</sup> Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, created successively marquess of Dublin and duke of Ireland. He was killed while hunting at Louvain, in 1392. Richard had his body brought to England, and opened the coffin in order to gaze upon the dead features of his favourite. He was buried with great honours at Colne priory in Essex.

<sup>2</sup> 20th December.

fled before the face of the lords Alexander Nevil, archbishop A.D. 1387. of York, and the lord Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the king's chief councillors, and they returned not, but died p. 6. in exile.<sup>1</sup>

At that time, I, the writer of this chronicle, was at Oxford, an "extraordinary" in canon law, and saw the host of the five lords march through the city on their way to London from the battle-field, whereof the earls of Warwick and Derby led the van, the duke of Gloucester the main body, and the earls of Arundel and Nottingham the rear.

The mayor of London, hearing of their advance, sent forth to them the keys of the city; and thereafter those same five lords did blockade the Tower of London till it yielded; then A.D. 1388. straightway they placed the king, who lay therein, under new governance, and delivered his fawning councillors into divers prisons until the next following parliament.<sup>2</sup> The day after the Purification of Our Lady, they declared exiles those who had fled, and they banished into Ireland all the king's justices, for that they had knowledge of the imagining of the death of the lords, as above written, and also the king's confessor, the bishop of Chichester.<sup>3</sup> Others who had wrong-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Nevil, archbishop of York, on his attainder, was translated by pope Urban to the see of St. Andrew's. This dignity was, however, worth no more than a bishopric *in partibus*, as Scotland followed Clement VII. The archbishop showed his wisdom by retiring to a small cure at Louvain, where he died in 1391.

Suffolk went first to Holland, but was afterwards invited to Paris, where he died in 1389. Walsingham (ij. 187) cannot find words bad enough for this able minister of Richard II. A good sketch of his administration, viewed in a favourable light, will be found in the work of M. Wallon, *Richard II.* (Paris, 1864).

<sup>2</sup> The confederate lords entered London on the 26th December, and immediately invested the Tower. Richard submitted, and summoned parliament to meet on the 3rd February.

<sup>3</sup> The judges who had taken a part in the council of Nottingham were—sir Robert de Belknap, chief justice of the Common Pleas; sir Robert de Fulthorp, sir John Holt, and sir William Burgh, puisne judges of the same; sir John Cary, junior baron of the Exchequer; and with them, John Lokton, serjeant-at-law. Belknap and Holt were banished to

A.D. 1388. fully fostered the king's unruliness, if not the causers thereof, namely, sir Simon Burley, chamberlain, sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice, Nicholas Brembre, mayor of London, John Berners and John Salisbury, knights, and Thomas Usk and John Blake, gentlemen, were beheaded.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1388. In this king's reign, on account of the papal schism, the bishop of Norwich<sup>2</sup> crossed over into Flanders with a crusade, and there he destroyed in warfare some nine thousand men of that land who sided with the French heretics; but he was forced to withdraw and to return to his own country by the power of the king of France and his army, many of the English then dying of the flux.

A.D. 1386  
—1388.  
p. 7. The duke of Lancaster also, claiming the kingdom of Spain in right of his wife, sailed to that country two years after, with another crusade; and there he lost by the same sickness many of the nobles of the kingdom of England, and,

Drogheda, Fulthorp and Burgh to Dublin, Cary and Lokton to Waterford. Thomas Rushook, bishop of Chichester and the king's confessor, was sent to Cork.—Rymer, *Fædera*, 8th and 13th July, 1388.

<sup>1</sup> The execution of sir Simon Burley, the son of the governor of the Black Prince, and companion of Richard's boyhood, which was carried out in spite of all the king's efforts to save him, made an impression on Richard's mind which goes far to account for the fierceness with which he attacked his enemies in the parliament of 1397. Berners and Salisbury (as well as Sir John Beauchamp, who was also executed) were of the royal household. Thomas Usk had been appointed under-sheriff of Middlesex, with the view of influencing the elections to parliament; and John Blake had been commissioned to draw the bill of indictment, which Richard, had he not been forestalled, would have brought forward against the confederate lords, in 1387, after the council of Nottingham.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Spenser, the fighting bishop of Norwich, had fought in his youth for pope Adrian against Bernabo Visconti of Milan, and received for his reward the see of Norwich in 1370. But "*vulpis pilum mutat, non animum*," and the bishop did not lose his taste for fighting. He was distinguished at the time of Wat Tyler's rebellion for the vigour with which he repressed the uprising in his diocese; defeating, shaming, and executing the rebels with great zeal. His crusade in Flanders got him into trouble, for he had to pay the penalty of failure by the loss of his temporalities, which were, however, afterwards restored.—Godwin, *De Præsul. Angl.*

I may say, the flower of its youthful soldiery. Yet he made peace with the king of Spain, receiving a duchy for the term of his life, and a large sum of gold for his outlay, and giving his daughter in marriage to the king's eldest son; and so returned to England.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1386  
—1388.

In these days happened at Oxford a grave misfortune. For, during two whole years was there great strife between the men of the south and of Wales on the one side and the northerners on the other. Whence arose broils, quarrels, and oftentimes loss of life. In the first year, the northerners were wholly driven out from the university. And they laid their expulsion chiefly to my charge. But in the second year, in an evil hour, coming back to Oxford, they gathered by night, and denying us passage from our quarters by force of arms, for two days they sorely vexed us, breaking and plundering some of the halls, and slaying certain of our men. On the third day, however, our party, bravely strengthened by the help of Merton Hall, forced our adversaries shamefully to fly from the public streets, which for the two days they had held as a camp, and to take refuge in their own quarters. In short, we could not be quieted before many of our number had been indicted for felonious riot; and amongst them I, who am now writing, was indicted, as the chief leader and abettor of the Welsh, and perhaps not unrighteously. And so indicted, we were hardly acquitted, being tried by jury before the king's judge.<sup>2</sup> From that day

A.D. 1388,  
1389.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of the duchy in the other chronicles. By the terms of the treaty, Catherine of Lancaster married Henry, prince of the Asturias, in 1393. The duke received the sum of 200,000 crowns and a pension for the lives of himself and his duchess.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Wood, following the account given by Knighton, says:—"On the third of the Cal. of May (1388), arose a grievous discord among the scholars of Oxon, that is to say between the southern and Welsh on the one part, and the northern scholars on the other, and in very short time did it so much increase that the scholars for the most part (after several had been slain) departed to their respective counties." And again, under the year 1389, he tells us of a second outbreak of the rioting, in Lent, which was quelled by the intervention of the duke of Gloucester.

A.D. 1388, forth I feared the king, hitherto unknown to me in his power, and his laws, and I put hooks into my jaws.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1379. Again, another misfortune happened. For that noble knight, sir John Arundel, being sent forth against the land of France to subdue it, with the flower of the youth of the country, had his fleet shattered by an unhappy storm on St. Nicholas' eve, and perished.<sup>2</sup> The cause of his mischance was not unreasonably found in the taxes wrung from the clergy and the people.

Ever from the time of such levying of tribute, called tax, do I remember the kingdom to have suffered misfortunes from internal slaughter or foreign treachery. Was it not so

A.D. 1372. when the earl of Pembroke, carrying with him the tax levied to subdue France, was plundered with his men near Rochelle, and carried captive into Spain? The same befell king Edward, who, after taxing the clergy and the people, strove to invade France with a mighty host; but the winds were against him, and though for six months long he lay near the shore awaiting their favour, he returned unprofitably with his

"But," he continues, "you shall have from a certain inquisition taken by a jury that was appointed on purpose to take an account of the matter:—On Thursday in the fourth week of Lent, 12 Rich. II. (which is this year), Thomas Speeke, chaplain and John Kirkby with a multitude of other malefactors, appointing captains among them, rose up against the peace of the king, and sought after all the Welshmen abiding and studying in Oxford, shooting arrows after them in divers streets and lanes as they went, crying out 'War, war, war, sle, sle, sle the Welsh doggys and her whelpys, and ho so loketh out of his howse, he shall in good southe be dead,' &c., and certain persons they slew and others they grievously wounded, and some of the Welshmen who bowed their knees to abjure the town, they the northern scholars led to the gates," and dismissed them with certain indignities not to be repeated to ears polite. The inquisition further gives the names of the different halls which were broken into, and of the Welsh scholars who were robbed of their books and other chattels, including in some instances their harps.—*Hist. and Antiqq. of the Univ. of Oxford* (ed. Gutch, 1792—6) i. 518.

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxix. 4; xxxviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Arundel appears to have been one of the fops of the period. Walsingham (i. 425) reports the loss, in his ship, of fifty-two suits of clothes: "pro proprio corpore novos apparatus, vel aureos vel auro textos."

army, as is told above in this volume.<sup>1</sup> See what says the A.D. 1372. prophecy of Bridlington against the tax :

“ While reigneth tax, large grace shall not abound ;  
So work begun shall foolish fall to ground.”<sup>2</sup>

And thus alas ! it is known to fall. Further, there fled A.D. 1385. before the face of this king Richard that most excellent man, William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, for that he was ready to stand up against such tax ; and, pursued on Thames by the same king, he fled for his life in the garb of a monk, and sought safety in the parts of Devon.<sup>3</sup> Yet did

<sup>1</sup> The passage in the *Polychronicon*, here referred to, is as follows :—

“ Eodem anno, rex Edwardus cum magno exercitu mare intravit, ad removendum obsidionem de Rochell ; sed ventus contrarius non permisit eum longius a terra recedere. Quare aliquamdiu prope litus maris commorans ventum prosperum expectavit ; sed nondum venit. Demum cum suis ad terram veniens, illico ventus ad partes oppositas se convertit.”

Walsingham (i. 315) has nearly the same words.

<sup>2</sup> The prophecy of John of Bridlington is a political review of the reign of Edward III., compiled in the form of a supposed ancient text with a recent commentary. The author was supposed to have been John, prior of Bridlington, who died early in the reign of Richard II. In some MSS. the work is ascribed to John Ergome ; but who he was does not appear. It is dedicated to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and constable of England, 1361—1372, and was probably written about the year 1370. Its popularity is shown by the frequency of quotations from it by the writers of the fifteenth century, among whom Adam of Usk is not the most backward. As a specimen of the work : the passage quoted above, which more correctly is “ Dum multat taxa non fiet gratia laxa. Sic opus inceptum laxum patietur ineptum ” (dist. iii. cap. 2), has this commentary—“ *Dum multat taxa*, id est, dum recipit taxam et exactiones de regno, *gratia non fiet laxa* sibi et larga, sed deficiet, et sic *opus inceptum* et *laxum* quod fuit de captione regis Francie, quando nos habuimus in ceptionem et latam viam ad conquerendum regnum Franciæ, *patietur ineptum*, id est, deficiet seu destruetur.”—T. Wright, *Political Pomes and Songs* (Rolls Series) i. 183.

<sup>3</sup> William Courtney, successively bishop of Hereford and London, and archbishop of Canterbury, was son of Hugh, earl of Devon. Walsingham, under the year 1385, tells us of the archbishop's opposition to a tax being imposed upon the clergy ; but on this occasion the king acted with him as against the designs of the nobles upon the possessions of the church.

A.D. 1388. they who were the movers of the king's pursuit die an evil death, of whom we have heard above, to wit sir Simon Burley and others.

Thus far, good reader, set not in order of years such things as have been told ; for what I saw and heard I stored up in my memory, rather with regard to the truth of the event than to the time when it took place.

A.D. 1394. In the year of our Lord, 1394, on Whitsun-day (7th June), died that most gracious lady Ann, queen of England, at the manor of Shene, which lies on the Thames near to Brentford. Which manor, though a royal one and very fair, did king Richard, by reason that that lady's death happened therein, command and cause to be totally destroyed. After the ceremony of her funeral, which was carried out with becoming honours, on the morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula (2nd August) the king clothed, with his train, in weeds of mourning, straightway passed over into Ireland with a great power, to subdue the rebellion of the Irish.<sup>1</sup> Yet he gained but little ; for the Irish, then feigning submission to his will, straight after his departure were known to be in revolt.

A.D. 1395. The next year, at the end of May, the king returned to England, landing at Bristol ; and at once sent envoys into France to contract his second marriage, of which more anon. And so, a matter for wonder, he took to wife a child not yet seven years old, rejecting the daughter and heiress of the

Earlier in the year, however, there was a quarrel between the king and archbishop, according to Walsingham, "*ob leves occasiones*" (ij. 128), when the latter was threatened with deprivation of temporalities. The monk of Evesham (p. 57) gives as the cause of his disgrace the king's anger at his remonstrance against bad government, and adds that the archbishop had to hide himself. Has our chronicler confused the two events ?

<sup>1</sup> Richard sailed for Ireland early in September, 1394, and returned in May of the next year. It was at this time that, on the submission of four of the Irish kings, an attempt was made to train them to English manners, and among other things to the use of breeches, as told by Froissart.



king of Aragon, though very fair and of marriageable years.<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1396. But why he chose this young child,—and though a child she was married to him at Calais with much outlay of money and show—they say was that, eager to pour forth his pent-up venom, he thought by help and favour of the king of France to destroy his enemies. Yet this in the end turned to the ruin of himself and his confederates, as will afterwards appear.<sup>2</sup>

A parliament was held in London, at Westminster, on A.D. 1397. St. Lambert's day (17th Sept.), a Monday, in the year of our Lord 1397; in which parliament I, the writer of this chronicle, was present every day.<sup>3</sup>

In the first place an address, in the form of a sermon,<sup>4</sup> was made by Edmund Stafford, bishop of Exeter, then chancellor, wherein he kept his discourse to the one point: that the power of the king lay singly and wholly in the

<sup>1</sup> The actual age of Isabella of France was eight years. The marriage took place at Calais, on the 1st November, 1396. The daughter of the king of Aragon, referred to above, appears to have been Yolande, daughter of John I. She married, in 1400, Louis II., titular king of Naples and count of Provence, and thus became grandmother to Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry VI.

<sup>2</sup> The surrender by Richard, in 1393 and 1397, of Cherbourg and Brest, which were held in pawn of the king of Navarre and duke of Brittany, was most distasteful to the English. Men recalled the conquests of Edward III. and their speedy loss, and had come to look upon even the giving up of towns held in pledge as a national wrong. This, added to the French marriage, gave rise to various rumours of Richard's designs in favour of the French; among others, that Calais, too, was to be handed over to them. See the story of Richard's quarrel, on this score, with the duke of Gloucester, as told in the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart II.*, ed. B. Williams, (English Hist. Soc.), 1846.

<sup>3</sup> It will be seen that the account given by our author is nearly the same as that found in the pages of the Monk of Evesham. One or two passages are given more correctly in this text. Whether the one copied from the other, or both from the same source, is not very material. But it is of importance to notice that Adam was present during the session, and that therefore the story which he tells may be looked upon as a true one.

<sup>4</sup> The text was from Ezekiel xxxvij. 22, "One king shall be king to them all."—*Rot. Parl.* iij. 347.

A.D. 1397. king, and that they who usurped or plotted against it were worthy of the penalties of the law. Wherefore, to this end was it ordained of parliament: first, to enquire after those who molest the power of the king and his royalty; secondly, what penalties such molesters shall receive; thirdly, that things be so ordered that such molesting do not again take place. And straightway the king bade the commons that then and there, before their departure, they agree upon a speaker, and present him on the morrow, at eight of the clock. The king also made proclaim his grace to all who might be among the aforesaid offenders, only excepting fifty<sup>1</sup> persons and certain others to be impeached in this parliament, provided that they sued out in effect their letters of pardon before St. Hilary. He caused, too, proclamation to be made that no man henceforth carry arms of p. 10. offence or defence in parliament, our lord the king's own retinue excepted.

On the Tuesday, sir John Bushy<sup>2</sup> was by the commons presented to the king their speaker in parliament, he making first due declaration; and the king accepted him.

Then he straight spoke thus before the king: "In that, my lord the king, we are bound by your dread command to make known to your royal highness who they are who transgressed against your majesty and royalty, we say that Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and Richard, earl of Arundel, did, in the tenth year of your reign, traitorously force you, by means of him who is now archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>3</sup> and who was then chancellor, thereby doing you grievous wrongs, to grant to them a commission to govern your king-

<sup>1</sup> By a confusion of the abbreviation of l. for *quinquaginta*, and l. for *vel*, Hearne has, in his edition of the Monk of Evesham's Life of Richard, erroneously printed *vel* in this place. Otterbourne has the correct reading.

<sup>2</sup> Bushy had been first elected speaker of the Commons in 1394.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Fitz-Alan, also called Arundel, was the third son of Richard, ninth earl of Arundel. He had been made bishop of Ely, in 1374, at the

dom and to order its estate, to the prejudice of your majesty A.D. 1397. and royalty." Also, the same day, that same commission was made naught with all and every the acts thereon depending or thereby caused.

Also, a general pardon, granted after the great parliament by their means, and a special pardon granted to the earl of Arundel were recalled.<sup>1</sup> It was also sought by the commons, still by the mouth of their speaker, that, whereas that special pardon had been gotten for a traitor by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of England, he, the procurer of the same, who should rather by virtue of his office have been against it, should be declared a traitor. And the archbishop rose up, wishing to make answer; but the king said: "To-morrow." But thenceforth he appeared not there again. The king also said, as to this petition, that he would take counsel.

Also, it was decreed that any henceforth convicted of acting against the government of our lord the king should be declared a false traitor, and the fitting punishment of treason be awarded to him. Also, it was decreed, with consent of the prelates, that criminal charges henceforth be determined without their agreement in every parliament. And then having leave they withdrew.

Then there was, as is wont to be, some bustle. And p. 11. thereupon the king's archers, who, to the number of four thousand, surrounded the parliament-house, which was set up to this end in the middle of the palace-yard,<sup>2</sup> thought that some

age of twenty-two years, was translated to York in 1388, and to Canterbury in 1396. He was banished by the present parliament of 1397, and received from the pope translation to the see of St. Andrew's *in partibus infidelium*, the same appointment which had been conferred upon Alexander Nevil, his predecessor at York. He was restored to Canterbury on Henry's accession, and lived to the year 1413.

<sup>1</sup> This special pardon had been granted to the earl of Arundel on the 30th of April, 1394, and was the more binding on Richard as it was granted at a time when he was his own master and entirely free from coercion.

<sup>2</sup> This parliament was held in a building specially set up for the pur-

A.D. 1397. quarrel or strife had arisen in the house; and, bending their bows, they drew their arrows to the ear, to the great terror of all who were there; but the king quieted them.<sup>1</sup>

On the Wednesday, the same statute of the prelates was repealed; and they were bidden, under pain of loss of temporalities, to the stablishing of what should be done in the same parliament, on that very day to agree upon one who should be their attorney to consent in their name to all that should be brought to pass in that parliament. The king also spake these words: "Sir John Bushy, forasmuch as many ask me to disclose those fifty persons who are excepted in the general pardon, I simply will not; and whosoever asks it is worthy of death."<sup>2</sup> First, because they would flee; secondly, because I have also excepted those who shall be impeached in this parliament; thirdly, because, by naming them, others, their fellows, would fear, when there should be no need for fear."

On the Thursday, my lord of Canterbury came to the palace on his way to parliament; but the king sent him word, by the bishop of Carlisle,<sup>3</sup> that he should withdraw to his house, which was done; and thenceforth he appeared not.

The prelates made sir Thomas Percy,<sup>4</sup> the king's seneschal, their attorney, with clauses of stipulations, to agree to all that should be done in parliament.

pose. "Fecerat autem rex ante istud parliamentum in medio palatii apud Westmonasterium, unam aulam inter turrim et hostium magnæ aulæ situatam, ad judicia sua ibidem exercenda. In qua gloriosius et solemnus sedebat quam unquam aliquis rex istius regni residere consuevit. Quam quidem aulam mox, finito parlamento, prosterni fecit et penitus inde asportari."—Mon. Evesh. p. 131. See also an account of the building in *Annales Ric. II.* printed with the chronicle of J. de Trokelowe, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series), p. 209; and in Otterbourne's Chronicle, p. 191.

<sup>1</sup> The Monk of Evesham improves upon this account by adding that the archers began to shoot, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is given in the Monk of Evesham's work in a mutilated form, from which no sense can be extracted.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Merkes, deprived in 1399.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Percy, brother of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland,

Also, sir John Bushy spake as follows: "My lord and A.D. 1397. king, forasmuch as the second article of this parliament is concerning the pains to be laid on such as do violence to your royalty, I beseech you that you deign to give me authority, by way of appeal, accusation, or impeachment, with leave to change from one to the other, as often as, or whenever it shall seem good to me and my peers." And so it was done. Then Bushy spake again: "I accuse Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, of threefold treason. p. 12. First, of the commission of government of your kingdom, treasonably granted to him, to Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and to Richard, earl of Arundel, at his instance and through him, who ought rather, by reason of his office, in that he was at that time your chancellor, to have withstood it. Secondly, that under veil of that traitorous commission, treacherously usurping the legal authority of your royalty, they did treasonably hold a solemn parliament to the prejudice of your royalty. Thirdly, that by such treacherous usurpation sir Simon de Burley and sir James Berners, knights and your faithful lieges, were traitorously done to death. Wherefore we, your commons, pray that a fitting judgment for so great treasons be by you launched against him. And seeing that the same archbishop is a man of great kindred, alliance, and wealth, and of a most cunning and cruel nature, I pray, for the salvation of your estate and of all your kingdom, as well as for the advancement of this present parliament, that he be set in safe keeping until the last fulfilment of his judgment." The king thereto answered that, on account of the high station of so great a person, he would consider till the morrow; and declared all others who were

created earl of Worcester at the close of this session, 29th Sept. 1397. He became seneschal of the household in 1393. Like his brother, he shifted from side to side: he retired from court at the crisis just preceding the seizure of the duke of Gloucester, but seems to have returned immediately, as he is still called seneschal in the text above; went with Richard to Ireland, and deserted to Henry on landing in Wales; then joined the revolt of the Percies, and was beheaded after the battle of Shrewsbury.

A.D. 1397. joined in the said commission to be faithful, loyal, and free from treason, and specially Alexander Nevil, late archbishop of York. And then my lord Edmund of Langley, duke of York, the king's uncle, and my lord William of Wykham, bishop of Winchester, who had been of the commission, shedding tears, fell down on their knees before the king and thanked him for so great favour.

Also on the Friday, which fell on St. Matthew's day, the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerset, and Salisbury, the lord Despencer and sir William Scrope,<sup>1</sup> in a suit of red robes of silk, banded with white silk and powdered with letters of gold, set forth the appeal which they had already proclaimed at Nottingham; wherein they accused Thomas, duke of Gloucester, Richard, earl of Arundel, Thomas, earl of Warwick, and sir Thomas Mortimer, knight, of the aforesaid treasons, and also of armed revolt at Haringhay-park traitorously raised against the king.

And they having given surety to follow up their appeal, Richard, earl of Arundel, was put on his trial, clad in a robe of red with a hood of scarlet. And straightway the duke of Lancaster said to the Lord Nevil: "Take off his belt and his hood;" and it was done. And when the articles of accusation were unfolded to the earl, he boldly declared that he was no traitor and claimed the benefit of his pardon granted at another time, declaring that he would ever abide by his king's favour. But the duke of Lancaster said to him: "Traitor! that pardon is recalled." The earl answered: "Truly thou liest! never was I traitor!" Again the duke said: "Wherefore didst thou then get the pardon?" The earl

<sup>1</sup> Edward Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, afterwards made duke of Alburquerque or Aumarle, son of the duke of York; Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, afterwards duke of Surrey; John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, afterwards duke of Exeter; Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, afterwards duke of Norfolk; John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, afterwards marquis of Dorset; John de Montacute, earl of Salisbury; Thomas, lord Despencer, afterwards earl of Gloucester; and William le Scrope, afterwards earl of Wiltshire.

answered : " To close the mouths of mine enemies, of whom A.D. 1397. thou art one. And in truth, as for treasons, thou needest pardon more than I." Then the king said to him : " Answer to the appeal." The earl replied : " I see well that those persons accuse me of treason by bringing forward appeals. In sooth they lie, all of them ! Never was I traitor ! I claim ever the benefit of my pardon, which, within six years last past, you, being of full age and of unfettered will, did freely grant to me." Then said the king : " I granted it, saving my welfare." Then said the duke of Lancaster : " So the grant holds not good." The earl replied : " Surely of that treason I knew no more than thou who wast then beyond seas." Then said sir John Bushy : " That pardon is recalled by the king, the lords, and us, his faithful commons." The earl answered : " Where be those faithful commons ? Well do I know thee and thy crew there, how ye are gathered together, not to do faithfully, for the faithful commons are not here. They, I know, are sore grieved for me ; and I know that thou hast ever been false." And then Bushy and his fellows cried out : " See, my lord the king, how this traitor strives to stir up discord between us and the commons of the land who abide at-home !" The earl answered : " Ye p. 14. are all liars ! I am no traitor !" Then rose up the earl of Derby and said to him : " Didst thou not say to me at Huntingdon, where first we were gathered to revolt, that it would be better first of all to seize the king ?" The earl replied : " Thou, earl of Derby, thou liest at thy peril ; never had I thought concerning our lord the king, save what was to his welfare and honour." Then said the king to him : " Didst thou not say to me, at the time of thy parliament, in the bath behind the white hall, that sir Simon Burley, my knight, was, for many reasons, worthy of death ? And I answered thee that I knew no cause of death in him. And then thou and thy fellows did traitorously slay him." And then the duke of Lancaster passed sentence of death upon him in these words : " Richard, I, seneschal of England, do adjudge thee traitor,

A.D. 1397. and I do by sentence and judgment condemn thee to be drawn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered, and thy lands, entailed and unentailed, to be forfeit."

Then the king, having regard for his noble birth, commanded him to be beheaded only. And there led him away his foes, the earl of Kent, his own nephew, and others who coveted his lands,—and who were afterwards cut off, as will appear, by an evil death,—to the Tower Hill; and there did they behead him.<sup>1</sup> And with his soul may I be found worthy to rest in bliss! for, assuredly, I doubt not that he is gathered to the company of the saints. As to his body, though it was then without honour laid in the church of the Austin friars of London, yet now is it as gloriously worshipped with deep reverence and with many offerings of the people.

On the Saturday, sir Thomas Mortimer was called on, under pain of banishment as a traitor, to appear within six months, to stand on his trial. And the king said: "Perchance the earl of March will not be able to take him; I will therefore wait until it be certified." The which sir Thomas, thus banished, stayed the time of his banishment in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

p. 15. It was also declared that all benefices granted and trans-

<sup>1</sup> Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, married Alice, sister of Thomas Holland, the late earl of Kent. The earl of Huntingdon is also said to have been present at the execution, and with him the earl of Nottingham, earl-marshal, the son-in-law of Arundel, though it seems that at this time he was at Calais (see Walsingham, ij. 225; Wallon, *Richard II.* ij. 456). However, the common belief that Nottingham was there appears in some lines of *Richard the Redeles* (pass. III. 105, 106), a poem written by William Langland in the year 1399 (ed. W. W. Skeat, Early Engl. Text Soc., 1873), wherein the story told by Froissart (IV. c. 92), that the earl marshal actually bandaged his father-in-law's eyes, seems to be alluded to. Arundel was deservedly a favourite with the people. He was one of the best sea-captains of the day, as he proved by his victories in 1387 and 1388.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen, at p. 125, that sir Thomas Mortimer is called the uncle of the earl of March. If he was so, it must have been by an illegitimate connection, as he is not recognized in the genealogy of the family.



ferred by such persons as had been, or should be, condemned A.D. 1397. in this parliament, and all other grants whatsoever made by them since the tenth year of the king, be recalled.

On the Monday next following was read the declaration of the earl of Nottingham, then captain of Calais, in whose keeping had been the duke of Gloucester, that the same duke could not appear on his trial, for that he had died in his keeping; and at the prayer of the said appellants the same judgment was passed against him, as against the earl of Arundel.

Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, also, after that his temporalities had been seized, was banished the kingdom.

On the Tuesday following, Rickhill,<sup>1</sup> one of the judges of our lord the king, a native of Ireland, read divers confessions drawn up in writings touching the said treasons, declaring them to be the confessions of the said duke of Gloucester, put forth by him and written with his own hand.

Also, the county of Chester was raised to the honour of a duchy, and was increased by the addition of the forfeited lands of the earl of Arundel. And the earl of Salisbury prayed for a writ of *scire facias* to be granted to him against the earl of March touching the lordship of Denbigh in Wales, and the king answered thereon that he would consider it.

Also, on the Wednesday next following, it was decreed that the lands of the said earl of Arundel, which were added to the said duchy of Chester, should enjoy its liberties in all things, excepting that the Welsh inhabitants of those lands should still hold their ancient rights and customs.

It was likewise ordained that all who gave counsel, help, or favour to the children of those who had been, or should be, condemned in this parliament, should be punished with the pains of treason. And the parliament was adjourned to the next Friday.

On that day, the king declared what issue of the condemned should be shut out from their estates, and from the

<sup>1</sup> William Rickhill, puisne judge of the Common Pleas.

A.D. 1397. councils and parliaments of the king : to wit, male heirs, and  
p. 16. all descending from them in the male line for ever.

Also, the king appointed to the said archbishop of Canterbury a term of six weeks to withdraw from the kingdom.

Also, it was ordained that all the lords, spiritual and temporal, should swear to observe unswervingly whatever had been or should be done, decreed, or carried out in this parliament ; the prelates also hurling their censures from this time forward upon such as should make opposition.

Also, the earl of Warwick was brought to trial ; and his hood was taken from him, and the appeal was read. And like a wretched old woman he made confession of all contained therein, wailing and weeping and whining that he had done all, traitor that he was ; submitting himself in all things to the king's grace, and bewailing that he had ever been ally of the appellees. And the king asked him by whom he had been lured to them, and he answered, by the duke of Gloucester, and by the then abbat of St. Alban's and by a monk recluse of Westminster ; and he kept begging the king's favour. And then, all as it were lamenting and seeking the royal favour for him, the king gave him his life to pine away in perpetual prison without the kingdom, his goods, moveable and immoveable—as in the case of the earl of Arundel—being first seized. And then the king sent him to the Tower of London, and at length ordered him to be taken to the Isle of Man, to be held in the keeping of William Scrope, lord of that island, a prisoner for life.

Also, on the Saturday, the king allowed the earl of Warwick one month to betake himself to the said castle of Man. He also pretended to grant to him and his wife fifty marks for the term of their lives ; but he never paid them one penny, but took everything from them even to their shoe-latchets.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, had been governor to the king on his accession. He was condemned in this parliament, for his share in the events of 1386—1388. The reference in the text to the

Also, to the earl of Salisbury was granted a writ of *scire* A.D. 1397. *facias* against the earl of March as touching the lordship of Denbigh, allowing grace of forty days to answer.

Also, it was ordained that debtors of the bridge of p. 17. Rochester be distrained to the use of the said bridge.<sup>1</sup>

Also, the king declared that, as to the foray of the Scots, rumoured abroad in this parliament, he would in council find a remedy.

Also, the earl of Derby was made duke of Hereford; the earl of Rutland, duke of Albemarle; the earl of Kent, duke of Surrey; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the earl of Somerset, marquess of Dorset; the lord Despencer, earl of Gloucester; the lord Nevil, earl of Westmoreland; the lord Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester; and the lord William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire. And the parliament was prorogued to be brought to a close at Shrewsbury, the quinzaine of St. Hilary next following.

On the Sunday, the king made a great feast on the breaking up of the parliament; and it was done as was ordained on the Friday concerning the censures and oaths. But, although this parliament was ratified by the oaths of the lords, by the censures of the church levelled against evil doers, and by

abbat of St. Alban's and the monk of Westminster can only be connected with the story of Gloucester's conspiracy, which is told in the *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart II.* as taking place in 1396, and in which John Moot, abbat of St. Alban's, and John Worting, prior of Westminster, were implicated. Richard did not leave Warwick long in the Isle of Man, but brought him back to the Tower, whence he was set free by Henry. His wife was Margaret, daughter of William, lord Ferrers, of Groby. Their bad treatment is noticed in *Annales Ricardi II.* (Rolls Series), p. 220: "Ibi constituit eum in carcere perpetuo conservari, promisso, tam sibi quam uxori suæ, victu honorifico de terris vel redditibus quondam eisdem pertinentibus, modo tamen forisfactis. Sed hanc sententiam postea non implevit penes comitem et comitissam, sed in magna protrahere miseria vitam permisit utrumque."

<sup>1</sup> Old Rochester bridge, formerly built of wood, was now replaced by one of stone.—*Rot. Parl.* iij. 354.

A.D. 1397. confirmation apostolic, Peter, bishop of Acqs,<sup>1</sup> in the name of the pope, in like manner hurling forth censures, yet, like the image of Nebuchadnezzar, in the height of its vain-glory it fell with its supporters, and righteously, according to what has gone before, as will presently more fully appear. The example of Chosroes, of Belshazzar, of Antiochus, and of other tyrants who have oppressed their people.<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1398. And so the king continued the parliament at Shrewsbury (28th Jan.) with such worldly pomp as ear hath not heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man.<sup>3</sup> What unprofitable things to the kingdom and destructive that great trooping together of people, all armed as though for war, did bring about, the world might wonder at. And in this parliament, besides other things hurtful to his people and ruinous to the price of food, even for his victuals he paid naught. And there was appealed of treason the lord [John] de Cobham, for that he had been one of the twelve commissioners of the kingdom. And he said to the king in his trial: "It is well known to you that you did command me  
p. 18. to take upon me the burden of the commission and to receive the same?" The king answered: "Thou knowest well that I bade thee do so against my will." "Assuredly not!" said the lord Cobham. And the king made him to be adjudged traitor by the duke of Lancaster; yet granted he him his life to pine away in prison. Thereupon the duke said to him: "Give thanks to our lord the king for thy life." "Not so," said he, "for the rather my life wearies me, because I thought to rejoice in eternal life sooner than I shall do."

Then and there, too, the king wrung from the clergy a tenth and a half, and from the people a fifteenth and a half,

<sup>1</sup> Pierre du Bois, bishop of Acqs, in the south of France, formerly canon of Bordeaux. An order to seize his goods appears in Rymer's *Fœdera*, 30th May, 1400.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence appears to be a note of examples to be enlarged upon at a future time.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. ij. 9.

and on every sack of wool five marks, and on every tun of A.D. 1398. wine five shillings, and on every pound's worth<sup>1</sup> of merchandize two shillings, for the term of his life, amid the secret curses of his people.<sup>2</sup> At length he sent the said lord Cobham into perpetual prison in the island of Jersey.

To this parliament was summoned and came that noble knight, the earl of March, lieutenant of Ireland, a young man of exceeding uprightness, who had no part nor share in such designs and wanton deeds of the king. Him the people received with joy and delight, going forth to meet him to the number of twenty thousand, clad in hoods of his colours, red and white, and hoping through him for deliverance from the grievous evil of such a king. But he bore himself wisely and with prudence; for the king and others who were only half-friends, envying his virtue, laid snares for him, seeking occasions of complaint against him. But he, as though he cared not for the tumult among the people, feigned in the king's presence, pretending that his deeds were pleasing to him, although in very truth they displeased him much. Yet the king mistrusted, and being ever evil-minded against him, for that others dared it not, thought with his own hands to slay him. And with others thereto sworn, the king did ever seek occasion to destroy him, excusing his evil purpose in that the earl had received in Ireland, some while after his banishment, sir Thomas p. 19. Mortimer, a bold knight, his uncle, who had been banished by them and whom they sorely feared, and had also before his departure furnished him with money. And so in secret among themselves they doomed the earl, striving after a time to destroy him, and boasting that they would share his lands amongst them. And to that end they sent into Ireland, as their lieutenant, to take him, my lord of Surrey before men-

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reads, "librata ponderis."

<sup>2</sup> The parliament granted Richard a tenth and a half and a fifteenth and a half, and the tax on wools, skins, and wool-fells for life.—*Rot. Parl.* ij. 368.

A.D. 1398. tioned, his wife's brother,<sup>1</sup> who hated him bitterly. But alas! on St. Margaret's day (20th July), near to Kells<sup>2</sup> in Ireland, as, too bold in his warlike valour, he rashly outstripped his own troops, he fell by the accident of war into the hands of his enemies and was slain, to the great sorrow of the kingdom, and to the no small joy and delight of his rivals and adversaries.<sup>3</sup>

This is the genealogy of the same earl: Roger, son of Edmund, son of Roger, son of Edmund, son of Roger, first earl of March [son of Edmund, son of Roger], son of Gwladus the Dark, daughter of Llewellyn, son of Jorwerth the Broken-nosed, prince of North Wales. (And so, through the British p. 20. kings, the heathen gods, and the patriarchs to Adam.)

<sup>1</sup> Roger Mortimer, earl of March, married Alianore, sister of Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey.

<sup>2</sup> Kenlasoe. MS. The place meant is Kells, co. Kilkenny.

<sup>3</sup> The following is an extract from a chronicle of the founders of Wigmore abbey, which is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi. 354. The adoption by the earl of the Irish dress is rather a curious fact:—  
 "Iste Rogerus juvenis, probitate illius temporis præclarus, hastiludiis strenuus, in facescia gloriosus, in epulis dapsilis, in muneribus largus, in communione affabilis et jocosus, pulcritudine et forma coetaneos excellens, in ætatis suæ vicessimo anno locum tenens Hiberniæ præficitur: unde de et super castro et villa de Dynnebygh, cum Rosse et Ruwynnok pago adjacenti, per comitem Sarum, consilio, auxilio, et favore ducis Lancastriæ in eventum victoriæ idem sibi dominium captantis, in ultimo parlamento dicti regis Ricardi, apud Salopiam tento, contra eum causa mota, ad defensionem, milibus colore suo indutis stipatus, et ab omnibus aliis pagensibus, etiam expensis propriis, pro majore parte, in coloribus suis, scilicet rubeo et albo, vestitis, magnis cum gloria et gaudio receptus, in emulorum et adversariorum confusionem non modicum advenit, et dictum dominum summaliter [sententialiter?] et diffinitive evicit.

"Iste Rogerus, vir licet bellicosus et inclitus, ac negotiis fortunatus, pulcherque et formosus, ut præmittitur, fuerit, nimis tamen lascivus et in divinis heu! remissus; consilioque juvenum, antiquorum rejecto, abductus, nimia animositate, immo verius ferocitate leonina, Leonelli nepoti satis innata, sed (proh dolor!) non regulata, irruendo exercitum præcedens, Hibernicali vestitus et equitatus apparatu, nec suos in succursum expectans, ac hostes invadens, apud Kenles in Hibernia per homines Obrinque invasus, belli eventu in anno Domini mcccxcvii. cecidet inde, quia hostibus ignotus quam dolenter trucidatus."

Now let us 'return to Gwladus the Dark, whose mother A.D. 1398. was Joan [natural] daughter of king John, son of Henry Fitz-empress, daughter of Henry the first, son of William the Conqueror, son [of Robert, son] of Richard, son of Richard the Hardy, son of William Long-sword, son of Rollo, the first conqueror of Normandy.

Besides this noble descent from the kings of Britain, Italy, Troy, England, France, and Spain, see how flourished the royal race of the earls of March! The same Roger above-mentioned was son of Philippa, countess of March, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, second son of Edward the third,<sup>1</sup> glorious king of England and France, son of Isabella, daughter and sole heir of Philip, king of France: and this, too, in both direct lines. Also, by another line, he was son of the said Philippa, daughter of Elizabeth, duchess of Clarence, daughter of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster [son of John de Burgh] by Elizabeth, daughter of Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward the first, king of England and conqueror of Wales, by Eleanor, daughter of the king of Spain, his first wife. Also, by another line, he was son of the countess Philippa, daughter of the said duchess of Clarence, daughter of the said earl of Ulster by Matilda, daughter of Henry earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund, son of the third Henry king of England, by Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, who is buried in honour among the kings at Westminster. Furthermore, as concerning Edmund, now p. 21. earl of March, son of the said Roger, being under age and in the ward of the king, he is born of Eleanor, niece of king Richard the second, daughter of [Thomas] earl of Kent, son of Joan countess of Kent, daughter of Edmund, son of the said Edward the first by Margaret, daughter of the king of France, his second wife, who lies buried before the high altar in the church of the grey friars of London.

Now let us go back to the said Empress (Matilda) who

<sup>1</sup> Third son. William of Hatfield was the second-born:

A.D. 1398. was daughter of [Matilda daughter of] Margaret, queen of Scotland, daughter of Edward the exile, son of Edmund Ironside, son of Athelred, son of Edgar, son of Edmund, son of Edward, son of Alfred, son of Athelwulf, son of Athelbryzt,<sup>1</sup> son of Aelmund, who was one of the five chieftains of England. The which Athelbryzt fled before the face of Bryzthryzt<sup>2</sup> his foe into France, in the time of Charlemagne; but Bryzthryzt dying, he came again into England, and bravely subduing all the other chieftains of the land he brought England into one kingdom, and dwelt therein peacefully; and now he lies at Winchester.

Now let us go back to Ralph Mortimer, the husband of Gwladus the Dark and son of Roger, son of Hugh, the founder of the abbey of Wigmore, son of Ralph Mortimer who first came with William the Conqueror into England. This Ralph, leaving his son Hugh in his lordship of Wigmore, went back into Normandy and there died.

Now I must not omit to say something concerning Edmund, the father of the said Roger. This Edmund, who, within the space of two years, by his abounding virtues as well as by his warlike energy and vigour, wherein he surpassed all other mortals of his day, did wonderfully bring all Ireland, being then in rebellion when he came to his lieutenancy, into unity and peace and under the dominion of England,—he, I say, presented me, who am now writing, to a studentship in laws with fitting endowment. But alas! at his house in Cork, in Ireland, on the day of St. John the  
 p. 22. Evangelist, through that fate whereby all are laid low, he left the world bereft of his great nobility, long time before I would have had it so. And his bones lie in Wigmore abbey along with those of his wife Philippa, buried in front of the high altar.<sup>3</sup> Concerning them are these verses:—

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Ecgerht.

<sup>2</sup> Beorhtic, king of Wessex.

<sup>3</sup> The Mortimers were short lived. Of the four last earls, Roger was born in 1328 and died in 1359, Edmund lived from 1352 to 1381, Roger from 1374 to 1398, and Edmund from 1392 to 1424.



One wise and good and well-beloved beneath  
 This marble turns again to earth in death.  
 Edmund's pure body lies within this grave,  
 But Christ from prisoning tomb his soul shall save.

A.D. 1398.

And for Philippa,

A noble countess here entomb'd doth lie,  
 In deeds of charity she strove;  
 Though sprung from kings, she spurn'd not poverty;  
 And now she lives in heaven above.<sup>1</sup>

Through this Philippa, daughter of Lionel, second-born prince of England, as is above said, the earldom of March, besides its royal lineage, which might in all likelihood reach to the highest places of dignity, rejoices in the honours wherewith it is endowed in the lordships of Clare [co. Suffolk], Walsingham [co. Norfolk], Sudbury [co. Suffolk], Whaddon [co. Bucks.], Crambourn [co. Dorset], and Bardfield [co. Essex], in England; of Usk, Caerleon, and Trelleck [co. Monmouth], in Wales; and in the earldom of Ulster and lordship of Connaught, in Ireland, together with the several and numerous appurtenances belonging thereto.

Now return we to the parliament of Shrewsbury. During its session the duke of Norfolk, who afterwards died in exile at Venice, laid snares of death against the duke of Lancaster as he came thither; which thing raised heavy storms of trouble. But the duke, forewarned by others, escaped the snare.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Latin original of these lines is also given in the chronicle printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vj. 353.

<sup>2</sup> "For you, my noble lord of Lancaster,  
 The honourable father to my foe,  
 Once did I lay an ambush for your life,  
 A trespass that doth vex my grieved soul;  
 But ere I last received the Sacrament  
 I did confess it, and exactly begg'd  
 Your grace's pardon, and I hope I had it."

*Rich. II., Act I. Sc. j.*

Such are the words which Shakspeare puts into Mowbray's mouth, closely following the account given by Holinshed. From what source the latter

A.D. 1398. The king meanwhile, ever hastening to his fall, among other troubles that he heaped upon his kingdom, kept in his following four hundred unruly men of the county of Chester, very evil; and in all places they oppressed his subjects unpunished, and beat and robbed them. These men, whithersoever the king went, night and day, as if at war, kept watch  
 p. 23. in arms around him; everywhere committing adulteries, murders, and other evils without end. And to such a pass did the king cherish them that he would not deign to listen to any one who had complaint against them; nay, rather he would disdain him as an enemy. And this was a chief cause of his ruin.<sup>1</sup>

took the story of the ambush does not appear. That such a plot against the life of Lancaster had a real existence is not unlikely, considering the jealousy with which he had been regarded in his days of power; but that Norfolk had designs upon him so late as the parliament of Shrewsbury can hardly be true. However, so late as 1394, the duke is said to have laid a complaint in parliament against the earl of Arundel for abetting his enemies in armed resistance.—Wals. *Hist.* ij. 214; *Annales, Ric.* II. 166.

<sup>1</sup> The excesses of Richard's Cheshire guards are a common topic with the chroniclers. The archers who surrounded the parliament-house in 1397, as above noticed, were men of Chester, who had been specially summoned by Richard to form his body-guard (Walsingham ij. 224). In the *Annales Ricardi II.*, they appear as “natura bestiales, qui parati erant ad omnem nequitiam perpetranda; ita ut exposita tanta surrexit eis insolentia, ut regem reputabant in socium, et alios, quanquam valentes et dominos, haberent in despectum. Et hii non erant de generosis patriæ, sed tracti vel de rure, vel sutoria vel alia quavis arte; ut qui domi vix digni reputati fuerant detrahare calceos magistrorum, hic se reputabant pares et socios dominorum.” Interference of these favoured subjects of Richard in other matters besides soldiering is noticed in *Richard the Redeles*, iij. 317, wherein the remarks in the text above on the king's protection of them are repeated in very similar words:—

“ For chydere of Chester were chose many daies  
 To ben of conceill ffor causis þat in þe court hangid,  
 And pledid pipoudris alle manere pleyntis.

\* \* \* \* \*

They constrewed quarellis to quenche þe peple,  
 And pletid with pollaxis and poyntis of swerdis,  
 And at the dome-þevynge drowe out þe bladis,  
 And lente men levere of her longe battis.

In the same parliament, the duke of Hereford, son of the A.D. 1398. said duke of Lancaster, appealed the duke of Norfolk of treason. Wherefore the king appointed to them the morrow after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross<sup>1</sup> next following to fight in that quarrel. The duke of Hereford meanwhile, finding pledges, went whither he would. But the duke of Norfolk being delivered into custody at Windsor, his offices were given over to his other co-appellors, that is, the office of marshal of England to the duke of Surrey and that of captain of Calais to the duke of Exeter; on account of which grants, by His righteous judgment, God did set between him and them great confusion and enmity, according to what the prophecy says in the verse:

“The great judge of heaven shall break the ranks of evil men.”<sup>2</sup>

And on the day of battle they both came in great state to the appointed place, which was fenced with a wet ditch. But the duke of Hereford appeared far more gloriously distinguished with diverse equipments of seven horses.<sup>3</sup> And because the king had it by divination that the duke of Norfolk should then prevail, he rejoiced much, eagerly striving after the destruction of the duke of Hereford. But when they joined battle, it seemed to him that the duke of Hereford would prevail. And so the king ordered the combat to be stayed, laying perpetual exile on the duke of Norfolk, yet striving,

They lacked alle vertues þat a jage shulde have;  
For, er a tale were ytold, þey wolde trie þe harmes,  
Without ony answeire but ho his lyf hatid.  
And ho so pleynd to þe prince, þat pees shulde kepe,  
Of these mystirmen, medlers of wrongis,  
He was lyghtliche ylauȝte and ylugged of many,  
And ymummyd on þe mouthe and manaced to þe deth.”

<sup>1</sup> This day would fall on the 15th September; the 16th was the actual day appointed.

<sup>2</sup> Bridlington, dist. ij. cap. vj.

<sup>3</sup> The combatants made a great display of arms and trappings. Henry was assisted by armourers sent by the duke of Milan; Mowbray received his arms from Germany.— Froissart, iv. 63; *Archæologia*, xx. 102.

- A.D. 1398. when he should find occasion, to restore him.<sup>1</sup> But the duke of Hereford he banished from the kingdom for ten years. The one died at Venice in exile; the other within a year came back in triumph to the kingdom, and, deposing him who had banished him, reigned therein with might.
- A.D. 1399. In this year, the day after Saint Blaise (3rd February), died the duke of Lancaster, and in the church of Saint Paul in London, near the high altar, was with great honours buried.
- A.D. 1398. In the parliament of Shrewsbury, the king got the whole  
p. 24. power of the government to be given over to him and to six others to be named by him for the term of his life, where
- A.D. 1399. and when he pleased.<sup>2</sup> By means of which commission he afterwards condemned the said duke of Hereford to perpetual exile, seizing all his goods. And he passed sentence against the memory of many who were dead. And at length he set out for Ireland (29th May) to subdue it, in an evil hour, for, as will hereafter be seen, his return to his own land was to his injury.

The coming out of exile of the said duke of Hereford, now by his father's death became duke of Lancaster, and so twice a duke, was according to that part of the prophecy of Bridlington where are the verses :

“With scarce three hundred men the duke shall come again;  
And Philip, false, shall flee, all reckless of the slain.”<sup>3</sup>

This duke Henry, according to the prophecy of Merlin,

<sup>1</sup> This view of Norfolk's banishment is not altogether unsatisfactory. It is difficult to give any good reason for the severity of the sentence. Norfolk was notoriously a favourite with Richard, and the charges brought against him by Henry are not enough to account for a life-banishment. It is not therefore impossible that Richard may have meditated recalling Norfolk, after his heavy sentence had served the purpose for which it seems to have been intended, that is, as a counterfoil to make Henry's term of banishment appear comparatively trifling.

<sup>2</sup> The commission to which were deputed the powers of parliament, at the close of the session of Shrewsbury, consisted of twelve peers and six commoners. Half of their number was empowered to act.—*Rot. Parl.* iij. 368.

<sup>3</sup> Dist. ii. cap. ij.

was the eaglet, as being the son of John.<sup>1</sup> But, following A.D. 1399. Bridlington, he was rightfully the dog,<sup>2</sup> on account of his badge of a linked collar of greyhounds,<sup>3</sup> and because he came in the dog-days; and because he utterly drove out from the kingdom the faithless harts, that is, the livery of king Richard, which was the hart.

<sup>1</sup> It requires some patience to thread the maze of this wonderful "skimble-skamble stuff." The comparison of the eaglet with the son of John is clearly nothing more than an allusion to the emblem of St. John, the eagle. The "*pullus aquilæ*" is however not to be found in the prophecy of Merlin, as given in Geoffrey of Monmouth, but in the "*Prophetia Aquilæ*," which often accompanies it in the MSS. The following extract is copied from MS. Reg. 15 C. xvj. f. 184:—

"Post hæc dicetur per Britanniam rex est rex non est. Post hæc eriget caput suum et regem se esse significabit multis fracturis sed nulla reparatione. Post hæc erit tempus milvorum et quod quisque rapuerit pro suo habebit, et hoc septennis vigebit. Ecce rapacitas et sanguis effusio et furni multis comparabuntur ecclesiis et quod alius serit alius metet et vitæ miseri mors prevalebit et paucorum hominum integra manebit caritas et quod quisque pepigerit vespere mane violabitur. Deinde ab austro veniet cum sole super ligneos equos et super spumantem inundationem maris *pullus aquilæ* navigans in Britanniam et applicans tunc statim et aliam domum aquilæ siciens et cito aliam siciet." Those who have read Mr. Webb's translation of Creton's metrical history of the deposition of Richard will recall the scene of the aged knight who, as he rides along by Creton's side, tells him how the king's ruin had been foretold by Merlin, as he was prepared to prove out of book (*Archæologia*, xx. 168, 374, and Appx. IV.).

<sup>2</sup> Adam no doubt refers to the line in Bridlington (dist. ii. cap. vij.)—

"Cum canis intrabit leo cum tauro volitabit,"

which is thus commented upon: "*Cum canis intrabit*, id est, cum illa stella nociva in cælo, quæ canis primus dicitur, oriatur cum sole, quod est quando sol est in fine cancri in menie Julii in diebus canicularibus," etc. The adaptation of prophecy could scarcely be carried further than to dub a man "dog" because he works out his mission in the dog-days.

<sup>3</sup> The greyhound has not been commonly recognised as among Henry's badges. The better known ones were the antelope, the white swan, and the fox's brush. Here, however, is the badge of the greyhound, so specifically named that there can be no doubt that Henry made use of it. Richard's cognizance of the white hart may perhaps have suggested his rival's use of the greyhound at this time, with the significance pointed to in the text. In the Harleian MS. 1989, f. 381, containing a chronicle (unfortunately very corrupt) compiled at Chester, is also to be found a

A.D. 1399. This duke Henry returned from exile in company with Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, earl of Arundel, the son, who for fear of his life had fled to him in France from the keeping of the duke of Exeter, king Richard's brother; and he landed on the 28th day of June<sup>1</sup> with scarce three hundred followers, as above said, at a deserted spot in the northern parts of the land. And there first came to his help the chief forester of his forest of Knaresborough, Robert Waterton,<sup>2</sup> with two hundred foresters; and afterwards, the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and the lords Willoughby and Greystock; and, in short, within a few days he stood in triumph, begirt by one hundred thousand fighting men. And two days before the end of July he arrived at Bristol, and there he struck off the heads of sir William Scrope,<sup>3</sup> the king's treasurer, and sir John

reference to this badge:—"Unde creditur quod armigeri ducis Lancastrie deferentes collistrigia quasi leporarii ad destruendum insolenciam missæ bestię," etc. (*Traïson et Mort de Richart II.*, p. 283).

The identification of the greyhound as a badge of Henry Bolingbroke may explain a passage in *Richard the Redeles* (ij. 113), which has caused some trouble to editors:—

"But had þe good greehonde be not agreved,  
But cherischid as a cheffeteyne and cheff of þoure lese,  
þe hadde had hertis ynowe at þoure wille to go and to ride."

Mr. Wright supposes John Beaufort, earl of Dorset, to be here meant, the greyhound being the cognizance of his family (*Political Poems*, Rolls Series, I. 386). Mr. Skeat proposes Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland. There can, however, be no question that Henry is more likely to be pointed to as "chief of your leash," than the other two comparatively unimportant nobles.

<sup>1</sup> This is a few days earlier than is generally thought to be the true date of Henry's landing, the 4th July.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Waterton, afterwards a knight and Henry's master of the horse, is in some of the chronicles placed among those who accompanied Henry from France. In the Sloane MS. 1776—containing a chronicle which partly follows the monk of Evesham and partly the *Annales* (ed. Riley), and which is partly independent,—and also in the Harleian MS. 53, a version of the Brut chronicle, Waterton figures as Richard's gaoler at Pontefract.

<sup>3</sup> The earl of Wiltshire, who is seldom named in the chronicles by his chief title.

Bushy and sir Henry Grene, knights, the king's most evil A.D. 1399. counsellors and the chief fosterers of his malice. There was I, the writer of this chronicle, present with my lord of p. 25. Canterbury late returned; and I, through favour, made peace between the duke and the lordship of Usk, the place of my birth, which he had determined to harry, on account of resistance made by that place, as ordered by my lady the king's niece; and I also got sir Edward Charlton,<sup>1</sup> then husband of that lady, to be taken into the duke's following; and I caused all the people of Usk, who for the said resistance had gathered at Monstarri,<sup>2</sup> to their great joy to return to their own homes.

At length the duke came to Hereford with his army, on the second day of August, and lodged in the bishop's palace; and on the next day he moved towards Chester, and passed the night in the priory of Leominster. The next night he spent at Ludlow, in the king's castle, not sparing the wine which was therein stored. At this place, I, who am now writing, obtained from the duke and from my lord of Canterbury the release of brother Thomas Prestburi, master in theology, a man of my time at Oxford, and a monk of Shrewsbury, who was kept in prison by king Richard, for that he had righteously preached certain things against his follies; and I also got him promotion to the abbacy of his house.<sup>3</sup> Then, passing through Shrewsbury, the duke tarried

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Charlton, or de Cherleton, married Alianore, daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, Richard's half-brother, and widow of Roger Mortimer, earl of March. He succeeded his brother as lord Cherleton, lord of Powis, in 1401.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot identify this place. I find the name of Nantyderry laid down in the ordnance map, about three miles above Usk, on the other side of the river. Allowing for the blunders of the scribe, it is quite possible that this place is meant.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas de Prestbury received the royal assent to his election as abbat of Shrewsbury on the 17th August, and had the temporalities on the 7th Sept. 1399. He afterwards got into trouble again, for he received a pardon from the king in 14 Hen. IV., and again, when indicted for felony, in 3 Hen. V.—Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iij. 514.

A.D. 1399. there two days ; where he made proclamation that the army should march on Chester, but should spare the people and the land, because by mediation they had submitted themselves to him. Wherefore many who coveted that land for plunder departed to their homes. But little good did the proclamation do for the country, as will be seen. The reasons why the duke decided to invade that country were : because, abetting the king as has been said, it ceased not to molest the land for the space of two whole years with murders, adulteries, thefts, pillage, and other unbearable wrongs ; and because it had risen up against the said duke and against his coming, threatening to destroy him. Another cause was on account of the right of exemption of that country, wherein the inhabitants, however criminal elsewhere, and others entangled in debt or crime, were wont to be received ; so that the whole land cried vengeance on them.

p. 26. On the ninth (eighth ?) day of August, the duke with his army entered the county of Chester, and there, in the parish of Coddington and other neighbouring parishes, taking up his camping ground and pitching his tents, nor sparing meadow or cornfield, pillaging all the country round, and keeping strict watch against the wiles of the men of Chester, he passed the night. And I, the writer of this chronicle, spent a not uncheerful night in the tent of the lord of Powis.<sup>1</sup> Many in neighbouring places, drinking of the poisoned cups given them by the people of Chester, perished. There also, from divers water-cisterns, which the men probed with spears, and from other hiding-places, vessels and much other goods were drawn forth and taken for plunder, I being present with the finders.

The next day, which was the eve of St. Lawrence,<sup>2</sup> I went in the morning to the church of Coddington, to celebrate mass ; but I found nothing, for everything was carried off and doors and chests broken open.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward de Cherleton.

<sup>2</sup> The eve of St. Lawrence falls on the 9th August.



The same day, the duke of Lancaster with his host reached A.D. 1399. Chester. But first he reviewed his troops in a large field, in which was a fair crop of standing corn, some three miles from the city, on its eastern side, marshalling their ranks to the number of one hundred thousand fighting men. And it may be truly said that the hills shone again with their shields. And thus he entered the castle of Chester; and there he remained for twelve days, he and his men, using king Richard's wine which was found there in good store, laying waste fields, pillaging houses, and, in short, taking as their own everything they wanted for use or food, or which in any way could be turned to account.<sup>1</sup>

On the third day of his arrival there he caused the head of Perkin de Lye,<sup>2</sup> who was reckoned a great evil-doer, to be cut off and fixed on a stake beyond the eastern gate. This Perkin, who as chief warden of the royal forest of Delamere,<sup>3</sup> and by power of that office, had oppressed and ground down the country people, was taken in a monk's garb; and because, as it was said, he had done many wrongs in such disguise, he deservedly was put out of the world in that dress. One thing I know, that I thought no man grieved for his death.

King Richard, hearing in Ireland of the landing of the duke, set out in the full glory of war and wealth, and made for the shores of Wales at Pembroke with a great host, and landed on the day of St. Mary Magdalene (22nd July), sending forward the lord Despencer<sup>4</sup> to stir up his men of Glamorgan to his help; but they obeyed him not. Stunned by this news coming in from all sides, and acting on the advice of those who I think were traitors, and hoping to be relieved by the succour of the men of North Wales and

p. 27.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Traison et Mort*, Appendix C. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Piers de Legh of Lyme Hanley.

<sup>3</sup> The jurisdiction of the forest of Delamere was vested in four families: Kingsley, Grosvenor, Wever, and Merton.—Ormerod, *History of Cheshire* (1819) ij. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Despencer, created earl of Gloucester in 1397; beheaded in 1400.

A.D. 1399. Chester, he fled in panic at midnight with only a few followers to Caermarthen,<sup>1</sup> on the road to Conway castle in North Wales. Whereupon the dukes, earls, barons, and all who were with him in his great host, according to the text: "Smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered,"<sup>2</sup> disbanded, and making their way through by-ways into England were robbed of everything by the country people.<sup>3</sup> And I saw many of the chief men come in to the duke thus stripped, and many of them, whom he trusted not, he delivered into divers keepings.

On the eve of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin (14th August),<sup>4</sup> my lord of Canterbury and the earl of Northumberland went away to the king at the castle of Conway to treat with him on the duke's behalf, and the king, on condition of saving his dignity, promised to surrender to the duke at Flint castle.) And so, delivering up to them his two crowns, valued at one hundred thousand marks, with other countless treasure,<sup>5</sup> he straightway set forth to Flint. There the duke

<sup>1</sup> The Harl. MS. 1989, printed in the *Traïson et Mort*, Appendix C. 282, also mentions Caermarthen as the place whither Richard first went on landing in Wales.

<sup>2</sup> Zech. iij. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archæologia*, xx. 104, 328, where Creton tells us how the English soldiers were pillaged by the Welsh as they made their way through the country.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Traïson et Mort*, 195, the earl of Northumberland receives his instructions on the 17th August. As, however, he was at Conway on the 18th of the month, and had to make his arrangements and post his troops, the date in our chronicle is probably the more correct one. Both Creton (*Arch.* xx.) and the author of the *Traïson et Mort* state that Northumberland alone was present at Conway, and that the archbishop only met the king at Flint. Consequently, the truth of Richard's promise to abdicate, which, according to the Rolls of Parliament (iij. 416), was made at Conway to the archbishop and earl, is open to grave doubt. See *Traïson et Mort*, 202; Lingard, *Hist. Engl.*; Wallon, *Richard II.* ij. 292.

<sup>5</sup> This story of the surrender of treasure is not supported by other chronicles. Perhaps the capture of treasure at Holt castle, which surrendered to Henry, is meant.—*Arch.* xx. 122.

coming to him with twenty thousand chosen men—the rest of A.D. 1399. his army being left to guard his quarters, and the country and castle and city of Chester<sup>1</sup>—sought the king within the castle (for he would not come forth), girding it round with his armed men on the one side and his archers on the other ; whereby was fulfilled the prophecy : “The white king shall array his host in form of a shield.”<sup>2</sup> And he led him away prisoner to Chester castle, where he delivered him into safe keeping. Thus, too, he placed in custody certain lords, taken along with the king, to be kept till the parliament which was to begin on the morrow of Michaelmas-day.

While the duke was then at Chester, three of the twenty-p. 28.four aldermen of the city of London, on behalf of the same city, together with other fifty citizens, came to the duke, and recommended their city to him, under their common seal, renouncing their fealty to king Richard.<sup>3</sup> They told, too, how the citizens had gathered in arms to Westminster abbey to search for the king, hearing that he had in secret fled thither ; and that, not finding him there, they had ordered to be kept in custody, till parliament, Roger Walden, Nicholas Slake, and Ralph Selby, the king’s special councillors, whom they did find.<sup>4</sup> And so the duke, having gloriously, within

<sup>1</sup> Creton has drawn a fine scene in which Richard stands on the battlements of Flint castle and watches Henry’s army advance and encircle the fortress (*Arch.* xx. 155, 370). The number of troops is put down at 100,000 men, and the whole body is represented as marching to Flint. Dr. Lingard has made some allowance, and reduced the number to 80,000. Twenty thousand men would, however, be quite enough for Henry’s purpose ; and I have no doubt that Adam’s account of the disposition of the troops is right.

<sup>2</sup> This comes from the “*Prophetia Aquilæ*” :—“*Exercitus ejus ad modum clipei formabuntur.*” MS. Reg. 15 C. xvj.

<sup>3</sup> The deputation from London is also said to have met Henry at Lichfield (*Arch.* xx. 176), or at Coventry (*Traïson et Mort*, 212).

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed (Ed. 1807. ij, 859) tells a somewhat similar story : that some of the Londoners designed to slay Richard on his arrival at the city, but, being prevented, “They, comminge to Westminster, tooke maister John Selake, deane of the king’s chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there laid him fast in irons.” Roger Walden was shortly

A.D. 1399. fifty days, conquered both king and kingdom, marched to London; and there he placed the captive king in the Tower, under proper guard.

Meanwhile the duke sent to Ireland for his eldest son Henry, and for Humphrey, son of the duke of Gloucester, who had been imprisoned in the castle of Trim by king Richard. And when they had been sent over to him, along with great treasure belonging to the king, the said Humphrey, having been poisoned in Ireland, as was said, by the lord Despencer, died, to the great grief of the land, on his arrival at the isle of Anglesey in Wales.<sup>1</sup> But the duke's son came safe to his father, and brought with him in chains sir William Bagot,<sup>2</sup> a knight of low degree, who had been raised by the king to high places.

It was of king Richard's nature to abase the noble and exalt the base, as of this same sir William and other low-born fellows he made great men, and of very many unlettered men he made bishops, who afterwards fell ruined by their irregular leap into power.<sup>3</sup> Wherefore of this king Richard, as of Arthgallo, once king of Britain, it may well be said in this wise: Arthgallo debased the noble and raised up the low, he took from every man his wealth, and gathered countless treasure; wherefore the chiefs of the land, unable longer to bear such great wrongs, revolting against him, put him aside and set up his brother to be king.<sup>4</sup> So in all things was it

afterwards deposed from the archbishopric of Canterbury. Nicholas Slake was prebendary of York, and dean of the king's chapel, Westminster. Ralph de Selby had been subdean of York, and was warden of King's Hall, Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> Creton represents him as arriving in England, and as having, along with the young earl of Arundel, the custody of Richard confided to him at Chester.—*Arch.* xx. 173, 375.

<sup>2</sup> Bagot had escaped from Bristol. He was afterwards set at liberty, and died a few years later in retirement.—*Arch.* xx. 278.

<sup>3</sup> The appointments of Walden, archbishop of Canterbury, Merkes, bishop of Carlisle, and Robert Tideman of Winchecumb, bishop of Worcester, are here pointed at.

<sup>4</sup> Adam is quoting, from memory, from Geoffrey of Monmouth: "Nobiles

with king Richard; concerning whose birth much evil A.D. 1399. report was noised abroad, as of one sprung not from a father p. 29. of royal race, but from a mother given to slippery ways of life; to say nothing of much that I have heard.<sup>1</sup>

Next, the matter of setting aside king Richard, and of choosing Henry, duke of Lancaster, in his stead, and how it was to be done and for what reasons, was judicially committed to be debated on by certain doctors, bishops, and others, of whom I, who am now noting down these things, was one. And it was found by us that perjuries, sacrileges, unnatural crimes, oppression of his subjects, reduction of his people to slavery, cowardice and weakness of rule—with all of which crimes king Richard was known to be tainted—were cause enough for setting him aside, in accordance with the chapter: “Ad apostolicæ dignitatis,” under the title: “De re judicata,”

namque ubique laborabat deponere et ignobiles exaltare, divitibus quibusque sua auferre, infinitos thesauros accumulans. Quod heroes regni diutius ferre recusantes insurrexerunt in illum et a solio regio deposuerunt.” iij. 17.

<sup>1</sup> See the account in the *Traïson et Mort*, 215, of Richard's reception by the Londoners with the cry: “Now are we well revenged of this wicked bastard, who has governed us so ill!” Froissart (iv. c. 77) gives shape to these rumours in an apocryphal dialogue between Richard and Henry in the Tower, when the former was said to have resigned the crown. Henry, upbraiding Richard, says: “Et tant que commune renommée court, par toute Angleterre et ailleurs, que vous ne fûtes oncques fils au prince de Galles, mais d'un clerc ou d'un chanoine; car j'ai oui dire à aucuns chevaliers qui furent de l'hôtel du prince mon oncle, que pourtant que le prince se sentoît méfait de mariage, car votre mère étoit cousine germaine au roi Edouard, et le commençoit à accueillir en grand' haine pourtant qu'il n'avoit point de génération, et si étoit sa commère deux fois des enfants qu'il avoit tenus sur le fonds qui furent à messire Thomas de Hollande, elle, qui bien savoit tenir le prince et qui conquis l'avoit en mariage par subtilité et cautelle, se douta que mon oncle le prince, par une diverse voie, ne se voulsist démarier; et fit tant qu'elle fut grosse et vous eut, et encore un autre devant vous. Du premier on ne scut que dire ni juger; mais de vous, pourtant que on a vu vos mœurs et conditions trop contraires et différentes aux vaillances et prouesses du prince, on dit et parole, en ce pays ci et ailleurs, que vous fûtes fils d'un clerc ou d'un chanoine. Car pour le temps que vous fûtes engendré et né à Bordeaux sur Gironde il y en avoit moult de jeunes et beaux en l'hôtel du prince.”

A.D. 1399. in the Sextus;<sup>1</sup> and although he was ready himself to yield up the crown, yet was it determined, for the aforesaid reasons, that he should be deposed by the authority of the clergy and people, for which purpose they were summoned. )

On St. Matthew's day (21st September), just two years after the beheading of the earl of Arundel, I, the writer of this history, was in the Tower, wherein king Richard was a prisoner, and was present at his dinner, and marked his mood and bearing, having been taken thither for that very purpose by sir William Beauchamp.<sup>2</sup> And there and then the king discoursed sorrowfully in these words: "My God! a wonderful land is this, and a fickle; which hath exiled, slain, destroyed, or ruined so many kings, rulers, and great men, and is ever filled and toileth with strife and variance and envy;" and then he recounted the histories and names of sufferers from the earliest habitation of the kingdom. Perceiving then the trouble of his mind, and how that none of his own men, nor such as were wont to serve him, but strangers who were but spies upon him, were appointed to his service, and musing on his ancient and wonted glory and on the fickle fortune of the world, I departed thence much moved at heart.

One day, in a council held by the said doctors, the point was raised by some, that by the right of descent from the  
 p. 30. person of Edmund earl of Lancaster—they declaring that the same Edmund was the eldest son of king Henry the third, but that, on account of his mental weakness, his birthright had been set aside and his younger brother Edward put in his place—Richard's succession in the direct line was barred. As to this, see the history in the pedigree,<sup>3</sup> known throughout

<sup>1</sup> Liber sextus Decretalium, II. tit. xiv. § ij. This was the decree of deposition passed at the council of Lyons, in 1245, by pope Innocent IV. against the emperor, Frederick II.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Beauchamp, distinguished as a soldier and sea-captain, became lord Bergavenny in 1392. He died in 1410.

<sup>3</sup> In the MS. the word is written "P. de Grw," as though it were a

England, that Edward was first-born son of king Henry, and A.D. 1399. that after him, and before Edmund, Margaret, who was afterwards queen of Scotland, was born to the same king. I have read the following in the chronicles of the friars preachers of London: "There was born Edward, eldest son of king Henry, at Westminster; whom the legate Otho baptized" (book vii. ch. xxv. A.D. 1239). Again: "King Henry gave to his eldest son Edward, Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Surrey" (book vii. ch. xxxvij. A.D. 1253). Again: "On the 15th of May, in the battle of Lewes, the barons took prisoners king Henry and his eldest son Edward" (book vij. ch. xxxvij. A.D. 1253). Again: "Edward, eldest son of king Henry, went with his wife to the Holy Land" (book vij. ch. xxxvij. A.D. 1271).—*Polychronicon*. Again: "King Henry kept Christmas at Winchester. The same year of our Lord, 1239, was born to king Henry and queen Eleanor their eldest son Edward, on the 17th of June." Again: "The king summoned the queen and his eldest son Edward into France, to treat of a marriage between him and the daughter of the king of Spain, in the year of our Lord 1254, and the thirty-eighth of king Henry." Again: "The same year was sent into Spain the king's eldest son Edward, to king Alfonso, for the said marriage."—*Trivet*. Again: "Queen Eleanor brought forth her son Edward at Westminster, in the year of our Lord 1239." "Queen Eleanor brought forth her daughter Margaret, in the year of our Lord 1241." "Queen Eleanor brought forth her son p. 31. Edmund, in the year of our Lord 1245."—*Chronicle of Gloucester*.<sup>1</sup>

chronicler's name. But I suspect that nothing more than "pedigree" is meant, the scribe probably having been puzzled at the word, and that the common genealogical history of the kings of England, of which so many copies written on long vellum rolls are still extant, is here referred to. Hearne prints from one of his MSS., at the end of his edition of *Robert of Gloucester*, a "petegreu" of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry VI.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is interesting, as it throws some light on the story of the

A.D. 1399. On St. Michael's day there were sent to the king in the Tower, on behalf of the clergy, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Hereford; on behalf of the superior lords temporal, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; for the lower prelates, the abbat of Westminster and the prior of Canterbury; for the barons, the lords Berkeley and Burnell; for the lower clergy, master Thomas Stow and John Borbach; and for the commons of the kingdom, sir Thomas Grey and sir Thomas Erpingham, knights, to receive the surrender of the crown from king Richard.<sup>1</sup> And when this

fabrication of a chronicle by John of Gaunt, with a view to make out a claim to the crown by direct descent, and of the investigation of the matter by the privy council. We see here that the subject was actually discussed, but in a council different from that to which it was supposed to have been submitted. Hardyng is the author of the story, and tells it in these words: "For as muche as many men have been merred and yit stonde in grete erreure and controversy, holdyng oppynyon frowarde howe that Edmonde, erle of Lancastre Leicestre and Derby, wase the elder sonne of kyng Henry the thridde, croukebacked, unable to have been kyng, for the whiche Edward his yonger brother was made kyng be his assente, as somme men have alleged, be an untrew cronycle feyned in the tyme of kyng Richard the seconde be John of Gaunte, duke of Lancaster, to make Henry his sonne kyng, when he sawe he myght not be chose for heyre apparaunt to kyng Richard. For I, John Hardyng, the maker of this booke, herde the erle of Northumberlande that was slayne at Bramham More in the time of king Henry the Fourth saie, howe the same king Henry, upon Saynt Mathee daye, afore he wase made kinge, put forth that ilke cronycle, claymyng his title to the crown be the seid Edmonde, upon whiche all the cronycles of Westminster and of all our notable monasteries were made in the counsell at Westmynstre, and examyned amonge the lordes, and proved well be all theire cronycles that the kinge Edward wase the older brother, and the seide Edmonde the younger brother, and not croukebacked nother maymed, but the semeliest person of Engelande except his brother Edward. Wherefore that Chronycle which kyng Henry so put furth was adnulled and reproved." (Ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 353.) He goes on to say that John of Gaunt forged the chronicle in consequence of the parliament refusing to recognise him as heir to the throne after Richard, and that he published it by placing copies in different monasteries. See *Arch.* xx. 186.

<sup>1</sup> The Rolls of Parliament (iij. 416) also name Sir William Thyrnyng and John Markham justices, and William de Feriby and Denis Lopham notaries.



was done, on the morrow, the said lords, on behalf of the whole parliament and the clergy and the people of the kingdom, altogether renounced their oath of allegiance, loyalty, submission, service, and what obedience soever, and their fealty to him, setting him aside, and holding him henceforth not for king, but for a private person, sir Richard of Bordeaux, a simple knight; having taken away his ring in token of deposition and deprival, and bringing the same to the duke of Lancaster, and delivering it to him in full parliament on that day assembled. On the same day the archbishop of York delivered first an address on the text: "I have set my words in thy mouth;"<sup>1</sup> and then, having been made by king Richard his mouthpiece, he, using the first person, as though the king himself were speaking, read in full parliament the surrender of his royal rank and the release of all his lieges and subjects whomsoever from all submission, fealty, and homage, openly and publicly drawn up in writings. And this surrender, the consent of all and every in parliament being first called for, was openly and distinctly accepted. Which being done, my lord archbishop of Canterbury made an address on the text: "A man shall reign over my people,"<sup>2</sup> wherein he highly lauded the duke of Lancaster and his strength and his understanding and his virtues, rightly exalting him to be their king; and, among other things, he spake of the shortcomings of king Richard, and p. 32. specially how he had most unjustly stifled in prison his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, treacherously, and without a hearing or leave to answer; and how he strove to overthrow the law of the land to which he had sworn.<sup>3</sup> And so, in short, although he had sufficiently made resignation, the sentence of his deposition, drawn up in writing, by consent and authority of the whole parliament, was there openly, publicly, and solemnly read by master John Trevour of

<sup>1</sup> Is. lj. 16.<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 17.<sup>3</sup> This sermon was not delivered by the archbishop till after he had enthroned Henry.—*Rot. Parl.* iij. 423.

A.D. 1399. Powis, bishop of St. Asaph. And so, the throne being vacant, by consent of the whole parliament, the said duke of Lancaster, being raised up to be king, forthwith had enthronement at the hands of the said archbishops, and, thus seated on the king's throne, he there straightway openly and publicly read a certain declaration in writing, wherein was set forth that he, seeing the kingdom of England to be vacant, by lawful right of succession by descent from the body of king Henry the third, did claim and take upon himself the crown as his by right;<sup>1</sup> and that, in virtue of such succession or conquest, he would in no wise allow the state of the kingdom nor of any man to suffer change in liberties, franchises, inheritances, or in any other right or custom. And he fixed the day of his coronation for St. Edward's day next coming. And for that, through the deposing of king Richard, the parliament which was in his name assembled had become extinct, therefore, by consent of all, he ordained a new parliament in his own name as new king, to begin on the morrow of the coronation. He also thereupon made public proclamation that, if any thought that he had claim to do service or office in the coronation, by right of inheritance or custom, he should send in his petition, setting forth the why and the wherefore, in writing, to the seneschal of England, at Westminster, on the Saturday next following, and that he should have right in all things.

On the eve of his coronation, in the Tower of London and in the presence of Richard late king, king Henry made  
 p. 33. forty-six new knights, amongst whom were his three sons,<sup>2</sup> and also the earls of Arundel and Stafford, and the son and heir of the earl of Warwick; and with them and other nobles

<sup>1</sup> Henry's challenge of the crown was made before his enthronement.—*Rot. Parl.* iij. 422.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reads forty-two, instead of forty-six knights, and makes Henry knight four of his sons, in place of three. Holinshed gives the names of all the forty-six, who were created knights of the Bath. It is nowhere else said that Richard was present at the ceremony.

of the land he passed in great state to Westminster. And A.D. 1399. when the day of coronation was come (13th October), all the peers of the realm, robed finely in red and scarlet and ermine, came with great joy to the ceremony, my lord of Canterbury setting in order all the service and duties thereof. In the presence were borne four swords, whereof one was sheathed as a token of the augmentation of military honour, two were wrapped in red and bound round with golden bands to represent twofold mercy, and the fourth was naked and without a point, the emblem of the execution of justice without rancour.<sup>1</sup> The first sword the earl of Northumberland carried, the two covered ones the earls of Somerset and Warwick, and the sword of justice the king's eldest son, the prince of Wales; and the lord Latimer bore the sceptre, and the earl of Westmoreland the rod. And this they did as well in the coronation as at the banquet, always standing around the king. Before the king received the crown from my lord of Canterbury, I heard him swear to take heed to rule his people altogether in mercy and in truth. These were the officers in the coronation feast: The earl of Arundel was butler, the earl of Oxford held the ewer,<sup>2</sup> and the lord Grey of Ruthin spread the cloths.

While the king was in the midst of the banquet, sir Thomas Dymock, knight, mounted in full armour on his destrier, and having his sword sheathed in black with a golden hilt, entered the hall, two others, likewise mounted on chargers, bearing before him a naked sword and a lance. And he caused proclamation to be made by a herald at the four sides of the hall that, if any man should say that his now liege lord and king of England was not of right crowned

<sup>1</sup> This was the Curtana. The sword borne by the earl of Northumberland was the one which Henry wore on landing at Ravenspur, and was called the Lancaster sword. The earl did this service for the Isle of Man, which had been granted to him immediately on Henry's accession.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed says that sir Thomas Erpingham served the office of chamberlain, though it was claimed by the earl of Oxford.

A.D. 1399. king of England, he was ready to prove the contrary with his body, then and there, or when and wheresoever it might please the king. And the king said: "If need be, sir Thomas, I will in mine own person ease thee of this duty."

p. 34. This same sir Thomas had this service by reason of his manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, and so he held it by sentence and judgment, in the name of his mother, who was still living, the lady of that manor, as against sir Baldwin Frevyle, who claimed this office in right of his castle of Tamworth.<sup>1</sup> In this case I was counsel to sir Thomas, and I drew for him the following petition to serve as his libel: "Most gracious my lord seneschal of England, prayeth humbly Margaret Dymock, lady of the manor of Scrivelsby, that it please your noble lordship to grant to your said bedeswoman that she may, at the coronation of our most potent lord the king, do the service which belongeth to the said manor, by Thomas Dymock, her eldest son and heir, as proctor of the said Margaret in this matter, in form following: Prayeth Thomas Dymock, eldest son and heir of Margaret Dymock, lady of the manor of Scrivelsby, before you, most gracious lord seneschal of England, that you suffer him to have the service belonging and due to the manor of Scrivelsby in the coronation of every king of England; which service sir John Dymock, father of the same Thomas and husband of the said Margaret, and in right of the same Margaret, did in the coronation of Richard, last king of England; and in possession of which service the ancestors of the same Margaret, lords of the said manor, have been from the time of the Conquest till now: to wit, that the king make to be delivered to him one of the best chargers and one of the best saddles of our lord the king, with armour and ornaments and appurtenances of the same of full equipment for

<sup>1</sup> This was a son of the Baldwin who claimed the office at the coronation of Richard II. Both families claimed by descent from the house of Marmion.—Dugdale, *Baronage*, ij. 103.

horse and rider, just as the king himself would be armed A.D. 1399. when going into mortal battle, to the end that the same Thomas, mounted thus in arms on the same charger, cause proclamation to be made four times within the hall at the time of the banquet that, if any man shall say that Henry, now king of England and his liege lord, is not of right king, nor ought of right to be crowned king of England, he, the same Thomas, is ready to prove with his body, where and when and howsoever the king shall think right, that that man lies. Prayeth also the same Thomas the fees and dues belonging to and wont to be paid for this service when fully p. 35. discharged, to be delivered and given over to him.”<sup>1</sup> This rough translation from French into Latin does not pretend to be exact. And so, reader, be lenient.

On this feast, a year past,<sup>2</sup> had Richard late king forced to depart the realm him who was on this same day crowned king. Also, he had caused his parliament to be confirmed at Westminster by censures from the mouth of Peter du Bois, the pope's legate, and by his own authority. And he had also threatened to destroy with the last penalties the countess of Warwick, as she sued for her husband who had been condemned, as told above; and this he swore he would straightway do, were it not for consideration of her sex. On this same coronation-day he had thought to crown his nephew, the earl of Kent, at Dublin, with great worldly parade, king of Ireland, and had thought to sweep away in destruction many nobles of England who were to be craftily summoned to that great ceremony, seeking to enrich with their possessions the same earl and other young men whom, as has been said, he had raised up. But this Richard, with his youthful councillors, may well be likened to Rehoboam, son of Solomon, who lost the kingdom of

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the petition in French is to be found in Cotton MS. Vespas. C. xiv. f. 137 b.

<sup>2</sup> It need hardly be pointed out that Adam is wrong in his dates.

A.D. 1399. Israel because he followed the advice of young men.<sup>1</sup>  
(I Kings, xij.)

On the morrow of the coronation, which was the first day of the new king's parliament, the commons presented to the king their speaker, sir John Cheyne, knight. The king received liege homage from all the lords spiritual and temporal. Also, the last parliament of lord Richard, then king, was declared altogether void. And this took place on the Tuesday. On the Wednesday the king promoted his eldest son Henry, by five symbols, to wit, by delivery of a golden rod, by a kiss, by a belt, by a ring, and by letters of creation, to be prince of Wales. Also the causes of the repeal of that parliament were declared to be because of the fears of, and threats used towards, the peers of the realm if they obeyed not the king's will; secondly, because of the armed violence of the king's supporters, which blazed forth in the parliament; and thirdly, because the counties, cities and boroughs had not had free election in the choice of the members of the commons.

- p. 36. It was also declared that the parliament of the eleventh year of king Richard, which was all the work of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel, should remain in full force. Also, that anyone who had in any way been deprived of his right by Richard's last parliament should then and there be restored to his own. And the king also granted and gave over to his eldest son the principality of Wales, as well as the duchy of Cornwall, along with the county of Chester.

John Halle, servant of the duke of Norfolk, because he was present at, and consenting to, the death of the duke of

<sup>1</sup> "Thanne wolde right dome reule, if reson were amongis us,  
That ich leode lokide what longid to his age,  
And never for to passe more oo poynt fforþer,  
To usurpe þe service þat to sages bilongith,  
To become conselleris er þey kunne rede,  
In schenshepe (ruin) of sovereynes and shame at þe last.  
For it ffallith as wel to ffordis of xxiiij ȝeris,  
Or yonge men of yistirday to ȝeve good redis,  
As becometh a kow to hoppe in a cage!"—*Rich. Redeles*, iij. 254.

Gloucester, being condemned by parliament, is drawn, hanged, A.D. 1399. his bowels taken out and burned before him, and while still living is beheaded and quartered; and the quarter belonging to the right arm is set up on a stake beyond London-bridge.

At the time of this parliament, two of the king's servants dining in London found in five eggs with which they were served the distinct face of a man, exact in every respect, and having the white in place of hair standing clear of the face above the forehead and coming down the cheeks to the chin; and I saw one of them.

The lord Richard, late king, after his deposition, was carried away on the Thames, in the silence of dark midnight, weeping and loudly lamenting that he had ever been born. And a certain soldier there present said to him: "Remember that thou, in like manner, didst entreat the earl of Arundel in all things most spitefully."

My lord of Canterbury having come back from banishment, and having been restored to his church as against Roger Walden, prayed of the parliament leave to distrain the goods of the same Roger, wherever found, on account of the fruits and other his goods received by him during the time of my lord's banishment, and so to exact and abate what was due to him; and it was granted. And it is true that the lord Richard had given to the same Roger all the furniture and other the household goods of the same Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, as being confiscated, as he declared, even to the value of six thousand marks, besides the stock of the p. 37. manors of the church of Canterbury, which goods the said Roger Walden, being raised to the archbishopric, did hold and enjoy. And of them the earl of Somerset, when the news came of the landing of the said Thomas in the kingdom, seized six cart-loads from the hands of Walden's servants, which he had sent off to Saltwood castle for safety, and afterwards delivered all to the said Thomas. And with regard to this, among other things, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, short time before this parliament, while I

A D. 1399. was dining with my said lord after his return at Lambeth, I saw how the said Roger had taken away and stripped off from the ornaments of halls and chambers, which belonged to my said lord Thomas, but which had been turned into his booty, the arms of my said lord, to wit, those of the earldom of Arundel with a bordure, which he bore as son of the noble earl, and had set up and had sewed over them, in their stead, his own arms: gules, a bend azure and a martlet or.<sup>1</sup> However, they lasted not long; for, taking them down, my lord Thomas again restored his own arms and badges by the skill of the weaver's handiwork. And the arms of the said Roger, thus taken down, as I have said, I saw lying under the benches, a laughing-stock, and cast and flung out of window by the servants. I was likewise a witness when the same Roger came to the palace of my lord bishop of London to seek grace from the duke, now king, and from my said lord Thomas; which, as far as his life went, he found. And so Thomas and Roger, if I may say so, were two archbishops in one church, like to two heads on one body; that is to say, Roger, then in possession by right, by the pope's authority, and my lord Thomas, because he was not yet restored by the pope, in possession in fact, by means of the secular arm, which was all-powerful, because before him alone was borne the cross of Canterbury, which had been given up to him by Roger. This Roger was a modest man, pious and courteous, in speech of profitable and well chosen words, better versed in things of the camp and the world than of the church or the study. First he was king Richard's French treasurer (at Calais); then his secretary, and at length treasurer of England and the king's chief councillor.<sup>2</sup> Him the town of Walden p. 38. in Essex saw exalted from a butcher's son to the said honours, although by a too hasty leap. Whence is fulfilled the pro-

<sup>1</sup> An impression of Walden's seal with this bearing is preserved in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> Walden was afterwards restored to favour, and became bishop of London in 1404.



verb: "Quick gains are soon lost"; and, again: "No man A.D. 1399. was ever great all at once." And hence the verses:

"When the grave shall be uncovered, bishop Thomas shall  
be gone,  
And upon the earth, uprooted, falls the once exalted  
stone."

"When the grave shall be uncovered": that is, because king Richard had it without ceasing in his sleep that the head of the earl of Arundel was restored to his body; wherefore he caused the tomb to be opened.<sup>1</sup> "Bishop Thomas shall be gone:" that is, the banishment of the same Thomas. "And upon the earth," etc.: that is, Walden; which signifies the setting up of stones. And this is an ancient prophecy.

The commons prayed of the king, in full parliament, that he would make grants undeservedly to no man, and specially of such things as belonged to the crown. And thereupon the bishop of St. Asaph burst out in these words: "This petition is unmannerly and unjust, in that it argueth for niggardliness in the king, a thing which is contrary to all royalty, whereunto the bounty of an open hand is the rather thought to be seemly. It argueth too that subjects may fetter their king in his own inborn goodness. Which things seem to me unworthy. Therefore let not the king, who giveth, but let him who seeketh unjustly or unworthily rather be punished." And this answer pleased me, according to the passage in the Codex of Justinian: "De petitionibus bonorum sublati."<sup>2</sup>

It was also ordained that the lords of the land henceforth give not their suit or livery of clothes or badges, or more especially of hoods, to any man, except their own servants who are always with them, owing to the many strifes which had been thereby caused in the realm.

<sup>1</sup> See Wals. ij. 226; *Annales Ricardi II.* 219. <sup>2</sup> Codex, x. tit. xij. l. ij.

A.D. 1399. Also, although all who had been condemned in the last parliament of king Richard had of pure right been restored to their own, yet it was not so with the earl of Warwick, except by special grace, for that he had confessed that he had traitorously risen up against the king with the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel.

Also, the king removed the body of the duke of Gloucester from the distant spot on the south side of the church, where, in p. 38. dishonour, Richard had caused it to be buried apart from the kings, and laid it with great pomp in the place which the duke had got ready in his life-time, between the shrine of St. Edward and the tombs of his parents, by the side of his wife who had died a short time before.<sup>1</sup> And there and then I heard a good sermon on the text: "Remember the end,"<sup>2</sup> which the preacher divided into three parts: firstly, remember thy life; secondly, thy stewardship; thirdly, thine end. Again, the first he divided into three: remember thy life, in its beginning, in its course, in its end. So likewise the second: how thou hast entered upon the stewardship, how thou hast got, and how thou hast spent. So also the third: remember thine end, how thou shalt be summoned to judgment, how thou shalt be examined, and how thou shalt be judged. And then ended the parliament.

In these days my said lord of Canterbury bestowed upon me the goodly church of Kemsing along with its chapel of Seal, in Kent, and the goodly prebend of Llandogo, in the collegiate church of Abergwili. And the church of Shire-Newton, in South Wales, which by indulgence of the apostolic see I had held with other cures, I had leave to have given to my cousin-german sir Thomas ap Adam ap

<sup>1</sup> "Thomas of Woodstock was interred on the south side of the Confessor's chapel, beneath the pavement, under a splendid brass (see Sandford, p. 230), of which nothing but the indentations can now be traced. His widow lies in the chapel of St. Edmund, under a brass representing her in her conventual dress as a nun of Barking."—Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (1868), p. 145, note.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiasticus, vij. 36.

William of Weloc, and his church of Pant-teg to another, my A.D. 1399. cousin sir Matthew ap Hoel, each to be held by them.

I also got, by great good fortune, for sir James de Berkeley, lord of Raglan,<sup>1</sup> and for his wife Elizabeth and his heirs, under the king's great seal, the confirmation of that and other their lordships.

Then, too, I saw with king Henry a greyhound of wonderful nature, which, on the death of his master the earl of Kent, found its way by its own instinct to king Richard, whom it had never before seen and who was then in distant parts; and whithersoever the king went, and wheresoever he stood or lay down, it was ever by his side, with grim and lion-like face, until the same king, as is before told, fled at midnight by p. 40. stealth and in craven fear from his army; and then, deserting him, and again led by instinct and with no other guide, it came from Caermarthen to Shrewsbury to the duke of Lancaster, now king, who lay in the monastery with his army, and, as I looked on, it crouched before him, whom it had never before seen, with a submissive but bright and pleased aspect. And when the duke had heard of its qualities, believing that thereby his good fortune was foretold, he received the dog with willingness and joy, and let it sleep upon his bed. And after the setting aside of king Richard, when it was brought to him, it cared not to regard him at all other than as a private man whom it knew not; which the deposed king took sorely to heart.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Berkeley, younger brother of Thomas lord Berkeley, married Elizabeth, daughter of sir John Bloet, by whom he had the town and castle of Raglan. Dugdale notices the confirmation.—*Baronage*, i. 361.

<sup>2</sup> By a remarkable coincidence Froissart tells the story of the greyhound, though in a different form. He lays the scene at Flint, at the moment when Henry and Richard are preparing to leave: "Entretien que on selloit et appareilloit le chevaux, le roi Richard et le comte (Henri de Lancastre) devoisoient l'un à l'autre de paroles, et étoient moult fort regardés d'aucuns Londriens qui là étoient; et avint une chose dont je fus informé que je vous dirai. Le roi Richard avoit un lévrier, lequel on nommoit Math, très-beau levrier outre mesure; et ne vouloit ce chien connoitre nul homme fors le roi; et quand le roi devoit chevaucher, cil qui

A.D. 1399. In these days was born at Usk a calf which had two tails, two heads, four eyes and four ears. Such another monster saw I also in my youth in the parish of Llandenny, in the house of a certain woman, Llugu daughter of Watkyn by name. There was born too, in the parish of Llanhadock, a boy with one eye only, placed in his forehead.

A.D. 1400. On the eve of the Epiphany (5th January), the earls of Kent, Huntingdon, and Salisbury thought to slay the new king by craft and fraud, and to bring back the deposed king out of prison, because they had lost their rank as dukes and the possessions of condemned persons which had been given to them. And their chief design was against the castle of Windsor, in secret, with a great power of armed men, feigning to hold a tournament there, and so seizing the entrance they would have slaughtered the king and his sons, and others, his body-servants. But the king, forewarned, suddenly hastened to London for safety. Wherefore the earls of Kent and Salisbury, on their way to the county of Chester, to get the favour and help of those who rose in their cause, passed through p. 41. Cirencester, and there, on the morrow of the Epiphany, were beheaded in a riot of the country people. And many who

l'avoit en garde le laissoit aller, et ce lévrier venoit tantôt devers le roi festoyer et lui mettoit ses deux pieds sur les épaules. Et adonc advint que le roi et le comte Derby parlant ensemble en-mi la place de la court du dit chastel et leurs chevaux tous sellés, car tantôt ils devoient monter, ce lévrier nommé Math, qui coutumier étoit de faire au roi ce que dit est, laissa le roi et s'en vint au duc de Lancastre, et lui fit toutes les contenancez telles que endevant il faisoit au roi, et lui assist les deux pieds sur le col, et le commença grandement à conjourir. Le duc de Lancastre, qui point ne connoissoit le lévrier, demanda au roi : 'Et que veut ce lévrier faire?'—'Cousin,' ce dit le roi, 'ce vous est grand' signifiante et à moi petite.'—'Comment,' dit le duc, 'l'entendez-vous?'—'Je l'entends,' dit le roi, 'le lévrier vous festoie et recueille aujourd'hui comme roi d'Angleterre que vous serez, et j'en serai déposé; et le lévrier en a connoissance naturelle; si le tenez de-lez vous, car il vous suivra et il m'éloignera.' Le duc de Lancastre entendit bien celle parole et conjout le lévrier, lequel oncques depuis ne voulut suivre Richard de Bordeaux, mais le duc de Lancastre; et ce virent et sçurent plus de trente mille."—Froissart, iv. 75. See Wallon, *Richard II.* ij. 488.

were found with them were taken to Oxford and were there A.D. 1400. beheaded; whose bodies, quartered after the manner of the flesh of beasts taken in the chase, partly in sacks and partly slung on poles between men's shoulders, I saw carried to London and afterwards salted.<sup>1</sup> The earl of Huntingdon also, trying to escape through Essex into France, was taken by the country people, and, in the very place where the duke of Gloucester had yielded himself to king Richard, was beheaded by clowns and workmen.<sup>2</sup> Regarding which things the king wrote to my lord of Canterbury. Whereupon, taking for his text the words: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy,"<sup>3</sup> he made known the news to the clergy and people of London, in the form of a sermon, and then, a "Te Deum" being sung, giving thanks to God he passed in solemn procession through the city.

Afterwards, many others, amongst whom were master Richard Maudelen and William Ferby, clerks, and sir Benet Shelley and sir Bernard Brocas,<sup>4</sup> knights, were drawn and hanged, and, as having knowledge of and as furtherers of this crime, were beheaded.

And now those in whom Richard, late king, did put his trust for help were fallen. And when he heard thereof, he grieved more sorely and mourned even to death, which came to him most miserably on the last day of February, as he lay in chains in the castle of Pontefract, tortured by sir N. Swinford with scant fare.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the *Traïson et Mort*, 246.

<sup>2</sup> See Wallon, *Richard II.* ij. 517. The existence of a royal order to the governor of the Tower to receive Huntingdon into custody, dated on the 10th January, has been brought forward to disprove this account of his death.

<sup>3</sup> Luke ij. 10.

<sup>4</sup> The two knights are named Thomas and Barnabas in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> This is the only chronicle in which any of Richard's keepers is accused by name of having taken a personal part in starving his prisoner. Who sir N. Swinford was does not appear; but it is probable that sir Thomas Swinford, afterwards captain of Calais, is meant, for he is known to have had the custody of Richard (*Traïson et Mort*, lviii.). Of the different

A.D. 1400. At the coronation of this lord three ensigns of royalty foreshadowed for him three misfortunes. First, in the pro-

theories of Richard's death, that, which is supported by our chronicle, of gradual starvation by his keepers seems to be the most probable. The question has been so fully discussed elsewhere, that it would be superfluous in this place to repeat what has been so often told before. As, however, Adam of Usk is a fresh authority, and an important authority as being a contemporary, for the theory of enforced starvation, it may be well to see what the other early chronicles say on this point. Walsingham tells us that on hearing of the death of his friends Richard voluntarily abstained from food. The continuator of the Croyland chronicle has the same story, which is also found in various MSS., such as Cotton MSS., Nero A. vj. and Galba E. vij. The *Annales Ricardi II.* (Rolls Series) and Otterbourne follow this account, but add that after abstaining some time Richard was prevailed on to try to take food, but that it was too late as he could not swallow. The monk of Evesham gives the account of voluntary abstention, but adds an important passage: "Aliter tamen dicitur et verius, quod ibidem fame miserabiliter interiit." Similarly, the Sloane MS. 1776 has an alternative: "Rex Ricardus primo de turre ad Leedes infra Canciam, sub custodia Johannis Pelham ibidem; deinde ad castrum de Pomfrete, ubi Robertus Watyrton fuerat custos, occulte deductus est, ubi non habuit spem alicujus relevaminis. Et eciam, pre nimia amicorum suorum interempcione, dolore, tristicia areptus, non valuit consolari; nec consolatorem habens, diem clausit extremum, videlicet in festo sancti Valentini. Et qualiter, penitus a nobis nescitur. Quidam tamen opinantur quod fame miserabiliter ibidem interiit; hoc est, quod privabatur penitus ab omni sustentacione naturali, usque ad diem sue resolucionis." The Kirkstall chronicle, Cotton MS. Domitian xij., has: "Postmodo Ricardus quondam rex translatus est de turri Londonie usque ad castram de Pomfret, ubi diu ante mortem pane et aqua ut dicebatur sustentatus, tandem fame necatus est, secundum communem famam," in which account it agrees with Harl. MS. 3600, a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon* with continuation. In other MSS. we find more particulars of the duration of Richard's sufferings. The chronicle of Peter de Ickham, in Harl. MS. 4323, states that, on his removal to Pontefract, "per tempus certum custodiabatur," and then, "tandem a cibo et potu per quatuor aut quinque dies restrictus, famis inedia, cum xxij annis regnasset, expiravit." The same version appears in the chronicles in Cotton MS. Domitian iv., and Harl. MS. 3906, and again in many copies of the English chronicle of the Brut. All these authorities are of value, for, although it cannot be said that they are all contemporary, they are at least early and sufficiently near the time to show that, from the first, rumours of Richard's starvation were very generally believed. Of a later period is the chronicle in Cotton MS. Titus D. x., of the early sixteenth century, which has a more embellished account: that Richard, "ductus de loco in locum, tandem, ut opinio est

cession he lost one of the coronation shoes ; whence, in the A.D. 1400. first place, the commons who rose up against him hated him

vulgi, apud Pontifractum cibi inedia interiit. Nam dicitur cibaria in singulos dies, more regio, sibi apposita fuisse, sed esurienti non licuisse degustare." This appears in an English dress in Harl. MS. 53, a version of the Brut chronicle : "In the first yere of the regne of kyng Henry the iiijte, kyng Richard, which that was put doune of his rialte, was in the castell of Pountfret under the ward of sir Robert of Watirton, knyght, and there he was ich day servet as a kynge aught to be that he myght se it, but he myght come to non therof. Wherefore sone afftir he deyed for hunger in prison in the same castell, and so he made his ende." Holinshed has printed this account, along with others, of the death of Richard. (For the various discussions on this subject, see *Arch.* vol. xx.; Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. iij.; *Traison et Mort de Richart II.*, Introduction; and Wallon, *Richard II.*, vol. ij.)

The date of Richard's death is put by Adam of Usk rather later than in most of the chronicles. The 14th February, the usually received date, is probably more correct. Richard was apparently supposed in France to have been dead as early as the end of January, a deed of Charles VI., dated on the 29th of that month, referring to him as "feu nostre tres chier et tres amé fils Richard" (Rymer, *Fœdera*). That such rumours were current in England is proved by the well-known minute of the Privy Council to which attention was first drawn by sir Harris Nicolas. The date of the council at which this minute was passed has been fixed between the 2nd and the 24th February, and the wording of the original memorandum to which the minute serves as an answer implies, although it does not express, an uncertainty as to whether Richard was actually then living. An entry in the Pell Issue Rolls of Michaelmas term, 1 Henry IV., enables us further to fix the date of the death within narrower limits. For this entry is dated 17th February, and is a memorandum of the payment of a certain sum for the conveyance of Richard's body to London. The date then of the 14th February is probably not very far wrong.

An interesting fact in connection with the above-mentioned minute of the Privy Council has hitherto escaped observation. When examining the original rough minutes of the council preserved in the Cottonian library (Cleopatra F. iij. f. 9), I was struck with the care with which an alteration in this particular minute had been made, and then discovered that the minute as we now have it is not the one which was first written. This has been destroyed. The first leaf of the proceedings of this session of the council contains on its face nine memoranda or heads of business to be discussed, with this title: "Fait a remembrer de certains matieres necessairs a monsteler au grant conseil du Roy." The first memorandum is: "En primes si R. nadgairs Roy soit uncore vivant a ce que len suppose quil est, ordenez soit quil soit bien et seurement gardez pur sauvacon de lestat du Roi et de son Roiaume." On the back of the leaf are written four rough

A.D. 1400. ever after all his life long: secondly, one of the golden spurs fell off; whence, in the second place, the soldiery opposed him in rebellion: thirdly, at the banquet a sudden gust of wind carried away the crown from his head; whence,

minutes in answer to the first four memoranda. The minute (the one with which we are concerned) which answers to the first memorandum runs thus: "A le primer article soit parle au Roi qen cas qe R. soit vivant, quil soit mys en seuretee g. [aggreable a] les seignurs et qe sil soit mort qadonques il soit monstrez overtement au poeple quilz en puissent avoir conissance." Now the leaf is composed of three pieces of vellum which are connected together so as to form one sheet. The first piece of vellum, which is a very narrow strip, contains the first memorandum only; the second piece, the second, third, and fourth memoranda; and the third piece, the rest. The minutes in answer to the second, third, and fourth memoranda are written immediately at their back; but the first minute, instead of being written directly behind its memorandum, and on the first piece of vellum, as one would expect, is entered below the fourth minute and on the third piece of vellum. The reason of this is apparent after examining the different pieces of vellum, for it is clear that the second piece has been cut away at the top, part of the words of the second minute having been docked in the process, and that the first narrow piece is an addition to take the place of what has been cut away. There can be no doubt that what took place was as follows:—The first four memoranda were all written on one piece (now the second piece) of vellum, and the four minutes were written on the back in proper order. The first minute was, however, reconsidered, and was re-written below. But, as the matter to which it related was one of so serious a nature, it was thought proper to destroy the original draft. The clerk therefore cut it away, and necessarily, along with it, the first memorandum on the other side. He then re-wrote the latter on the narrow strip which he fastened to the head of the sheet, as we now have it. On the back of this narrow strip is the heading: "L'informacion de certains matieres a monstren a grant conseil nostre seigneur le Roy," which, however, has no connection with the minutes, but which happened to be on the sheet which the clerk used for the fresh transcript. As a further proof how anxiously must have been considered the form in which the minute was to appear, the words: "seuretee g. les seignurs," which are an alteration, are written over an erasure very carefully made; whereas, in the second minute, which contains no state secret, but which has been much altered, most of the corrected words are only crossed out with the pen. Sir Harris Nicolas has made use of the contemporary fair copy of the minutes in the text of his work (*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, 1834, i. 111), and has inserted the rough minutes in a foot-note; but, by a strange oversight, not noticing that the first rough minute was written below the others, he has omitted it altogether.



in the third and last place, he was set aside from his kingdom A.D. 1400. and supplanted by king Henry.<sup>1</sup>

Richard, farewell ! king indeed (if I may call thee so), most p. 42. mighty ; for after death all might praise thee, hadst thou, with the help of God and thy people, so ordered thy deeds as to deserve such praise. But, though well endowed as Solomon, though fair as Absalom, though glorious as Ahasuerus, though a builder excellent as the great Belus, yet, like Chosroes, king of Persia, who was delivered into the hands of Heraclius, didst thou in the midst of thy glory, as Fortune turned her wheel, fall most miserably into the hands of duke Henry, amid the curses of thy people.

Meanwhile the lord Despenser, lord of Glamorgan, as knowing and abetting the treason, was with much indignity beheaded by workmen at Bristol ; and the heads of those who thus fell were fixed on stakes and were for some time shown to the people beyond London bridge. But, seeing that all these things were done only by the savage fury of the people, I fear that they will make this a plea to wield still more in future against their lords the possession of the sword, which hath now been allowed to them against all system of order.

Also, all blank charters, in which throughout England his subjects had placed themselves under their seals at the will of king Richard, as though there had been a new conquest of the land, were publicly carried to London on the points

<sup>1</sup> A parallel is to be found in a chronicle which exists in two MSS. in the British Museum : Cotton, Titus D. xv., and Royal 13 A. xix. :—  
 “Hoc eciam anno Ricardus rex in castello de Pounfreit existens, postquam audivit certum nuncium de morte comitum Huntynghdonie, Sarum et Kancie, et maxime comitis Huntynghdonie, fratris sui, scilicet Johannis Holland, juravit se cibum nunquam pre dolore commesturum ; et sic per quinque dies totidemque noctes a cibariis custoditus circa festum Purificationis Beate Marie obiit, ut adimpleretur prophecia cujusdam militis Francie ad ejus coronacionem existentis, ubi vidit regis sotularem ad terram cadentem et regem ad prandium cibum suum evomentem. Quod sic exposuit : ‘Iste rex gloriosus erit et in cibus valde habundans, sed regni dignitatem amittet, et in fine pre fame morietur.’”

A.D. 1400. of spears, and there burned along with their countless seals.

The bishop of Norwich, uncle of the said lord Despenser, being accused of the same treason, was not delivered to a temporal prison, but to the keeping of my lord of Canterbury, from reverence to his priestly office, to await judgment. But afterwards the king frankly restored him to his church and dignity.<sup>1</sup>

The bishop of Carlisle, late a monk of Westminster, being accused of the said treason before the king's judges, was convicted and condemned by a jury of laymen, and after languishing for a season in chains in prison in the Tower of London, his bishopric being given to another, he was sent back to his old monastery to lead a monk's life, though named to the see of Miletus.<sup>2</sup>

p. 43. In this year my lord of Canterbury, calling together his clergy, mournfully laid before them how temporal powers fear not to violate the liberties of the church of England, and specially in seizing, imprisoning, and in judging bishops, without distinction, just as they would laymen. "True! my lord," I said, "in turning over the corpus of the law and the chronicles more cruelty is found to have been inflicted on prelates in England than in all Christendom." And I quoted the chapter: "*Sicut dignum*,"<sup>3</sup> touching homicide, and many others, and in short, as to the present case of imprisoning bishops, the Clementine chapter: "*Si quis suadente*,"<sup>4</sup> touching penalties, which was decreed on account of the imprisonment of the bishop of Lichfield,<sup>5</sup> in the time of Edward the second, king of England. My lord of Canterbury then

<sup>1</sup> Henry, bishop of Norwich, was a younger brother of Edward, lord Despenser, the father of Thomas, lord Despenser, who fell at Bristol. His arrest for complicity in the plot does not appear to be noticed elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reads "*Millatenci*." Merkes, however, was translated by the pope not to Miletus, but to Samos in Kephallonia. He died rector of Todenham in Gloucestershire.

<sup>3</sup> Decret. Greg. ix., lib. v., tit. xij. §. vj.

<sup>4</sup> Decret. Clement. lib. v., tit. viij. §. j.

<sup>5</sup> Walter de Langton.

recounted how that but lately Simon Islep, his predecessor, A.D. 1400. seeing his suffragan, Thomas Lylde, then bishop of Ely, dragged as a criminal in Westminster Hall and standing before the judgment-seat of the king's justices, did take him by the right hand saying: "Thou art my subject. Thou art standing in forbidden court before him who is not thy judge. Come with me." And so, in spite of the judge, he led him away. Yet the bishop, not daring to remain in England, got him to the court of Rome; and there he caused that judge to be excommunicated, and, for that he had in the meantime died, to be bereft of church burial, and cast forth into a ditch.<sup>1</sup>

Having heard that France and Scotland were making them ready to invade England, the king, taxing only the lords spiritual and temporal, did spare the commons.

The body of lord Richard, late king of England, was brought to the church of St. Paul in London, the face not covered but shown openly to all; and the rites being there celebrated on that night and a mass on the morrow, he was buried at Langley among the brethren. My God! how many thousand marks he spent on burial-places of vain glory, for himself and his wives, among the kings at Westminster! But fortune ordered it otherwise.

Brother William Botsam [or Bottlesham] died, bishop of p. 44. Rochester, sometime of Llandaff, and master John Botsam, chancellor of my lord of Canterbury, was raised to his place. There died also that man of grace, John ap Gruffydd, abbat of Llanthony, who, when his monastery was by accident burned to the ground, in a few years marvellously restored it from its foundations. To him succeeded a man of the highest prudence, John ap Hoel, prior of the same house.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lylde (not William Lyle, as in the MS.) bishop of Ely, was put on his trial and condemned for the homicide, by one of his servants, of a follower of the lady Blanche de Wake. Godwin (*De præsulibus Angliæ*) seems to imply that Simon Drayton, one of the judges, was refused burial in accordance with the terms of excommunication.

A.D. 1400. In this Lent, the boys of the city of London, often gathering together in thousands to elect kings among themselves, made war upon each other, and fought to their utmost strength; whereby many died stricken with blows, or trampled under foot, or crushed in narrow ways—much to the wonder of the people what this might foreshow: which I believe was the plague that happened next year, wherein the greater number of them departed this life. Yet from such gatherings could they not be kept back, until the king wrote to their parents and masters with grievous threats to prevent them.

On the third day of the month of May, the prince bestowed upon me a prebend in the church of Bangor.

Also, on the fourth day of the same month of May, our lord the king being seated in judgment in his hall within the Tower of London in right royal state, my lord Morley, who had lately appealed the earl of Salisbury of treason, for that the said earl, on the day appointed for the combat, answered not to the third summons, prayed that he be adjudged traitor according to the form of the appeal, and that his pledges be condemned in costs. And I, although a chaplain, by sentence and judgment made suit in his name, because the earl, as is aforesaid, was dead. The other side made exception on his death, that it took place before the appointed day. Whereupon I rejoined that by treasonable rebellion he caused his own death, and so he fell by his own assault, quoting the law: “Si decesserit,” in the title: “Qui satisdare cogantur”<sup>1</sup> in the Digest; and again: “Si homo sisti,” law: p. 45. “Si eum”;<sup>2</sup> title: “Si quis cautionibus;”<sup>3</sup> and title: “Judicatum solvi,” law: “Judicatum”<sup>4</sup>; and the Codex: “De custodia reorum,” law: “Ad Commentariensem.”<sup>5</sup> And in short my side had colour against the pledges of the said earl, and paid me a fee of one hundred shillings and twelve yards of scarlet cloth.

<sup>1</sup> Digest, II. tit. viij. l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. tit. ix., l. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. tit. xj.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. XLVI. tit. vij. l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Codex, ix. tit. iv. l. 4.

In this year, that is, in the year of our Lord 1400, a mighty A.D. 1400. plague prevailed through all England, and specially among the young, swift in its attack and sweeping away many souls. Then died lord John of Usk, abbat of Chertsey, with twelve monks. He, an inceptor in theology, of happy memory, a man surely of the greatest holiness, ever walking as a servant of the Blessed Virgin, gave up his soul to the Lord on the day of her Nativity—just as he had ever wished it to happen on that feast, being born in her parish and baptized at her font in Usk. Would I might be worthy to go with him on his way! I was with him in his last moments and had his blessing, wherein I rejoice, in these words: “The blessing which the Blessed Virgin gave to her son, our Lord Jesus; the blessing which Isaac gave to his son Jacob, I give to thee.” Being comforted in his sleep by the Blessed Virgin, in his last moments he spake thus to his brethren and me: “The enemy laid snares for me, but the Blessed Virgin Mary coming with other two ladies to my succour, did utterly drive him out, giving me comfort that henceforth he should not trouble me, and that she herself with those two would not depart from me, until she had my soul safe with her.” And then as it were a gentle sleep fell upon him. And a certain brother, William Burton, roused him, saying: “Be of good cheer, for you will be well!” The abbat answered: “Blessed be God! I shall fare well. Be silent and hearken!” The monk said: “Unto what shall I hearken?” “The host of angels singing with sweetest melody, ‘Come, blessed son of thy heavenly Father, receive his kingdom for thine eternal inheritance.’” The other said: “I hear it not. Would I p. 46. might be worthy to hear!” And so he peacefully rendered his soul to God.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year the king passed into Scotland with a great and glorious host to tame the fierceness of the Scots; but they, fleeing to places of refuge, laid waste and stripped

<sup>1</sup> He died on the 7th September.—Dugdale, *Monast.* i. 424.

A.D. 1400. their fields and houses and farms, lest they should profit our king; and, lurking in thickets and in the hiding-places of secret caves and woods, they withdrew before the king's face. Yet did they often issue forth from such lairs in lonely deserts and by-paths, and slew and took prisoners very many of our men, doing us more harm than we them.

On the day of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist the king returned to England, and hearing how Owen, lord of Glendower, along with the North Welsh who had raised him up to be their prince, had broken out into rebellion and had seized many castles, and how he had burned on all sides the towns wherein the English dwelt amongst them, pillaging them and driving them forth, he gathered together the flower of his troops, and marched his array into North Wales. And the Welsh being subdued and driven away, their prince with seven others lay hid for a year among rocks and caves. With others who yielded peacefully the king dealt gently, slaying but very few of them, yet carrying away their chieftains as prisoners to Shrewsbury. But afterwards he set them free, on condition of pursuing and taking those who still held out in rebellion in Snowdon and elsewhere.

A.D. 1402. About the feast of St. Faith (6th October),<sup>1</sup> the earl of Northumberland and his son, lord Henry Percy, had a great battle with the Scots who were invading England after the king's return; wherein they took one hundred knights and squires of the Scots and put the rest to flight. The victory was thus won: The English grooms in the rear, mounting their masters' horses during the battle, did very artfully and with the craft of an enemy shout with one voice: "The Scots flee! The Scots flee!" whereat the Scots who fought in the  
p. 47. forefront of the battle were too sorely scared; and, while they looked behind them to find out the truth thereof, they fell

<sup>1</sup> This can only be the battle of Homildon Hill, fought on the 14th Sept. 1402, and won by the English archers. Adam must have confounded one of the border skirmishes of 1400 with this victory.

beaten down by the redoubled blows of maces about their ears A.D. 1402. and shoulders.

The following writ on the king's behalf was sent to me, A.D. 1400. the writer of this history : "The king to his beloved master Adam of Usk, doctor of laws, greeting. We send unto you, under our seal, certain matters of doubt in writing, which concern the estate and honour of our kingdom, carefully requiring and strictly commanding you that, after examining into the same with good and mature deliberation and fully understanding the matter, you do send out in writing your prudent advice and answer, wherein you shall maintain your points in each particular by the laws, to us or to our council, before the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, laying aside all excuse and raising no difficulty. And furthermore, on account of the diverse opinions of others skilled in the law, which perchance might delay the advancement of that business, we will and command that you be in your own person before our said council at Westminster, on the octave of the same feast, together with those who shall with due care agree with you in that deliberation, there, all of you, to set forth your advice in those matters, and to bring those opinions to an end and determination. And this by the troth whereby you are bounden unto us, and as you love the honour and safety of the estate of our kingdom, you shall in no wise neglect. Witness myself at Westminster, on the twelfth day of September, in the first year of our reign."<sup>1</sup>

Follow questions on articles touching the marriage entered into between the lord Richard, late king of England, and the lady Isabella, daughter of the king of France. And first, the motives and causes leading to the contract of such marriage do follow :—

<sup>1</sup> A letter, under date of 12th Nov. 1400, was sent to Oxford, submitting questions on this matter. The letter is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*,<sup>1</sup> but the questions do not appear. Isabella's dower amounted to 800,000 francs, of which 300,000 were payable on the marriage, and the remaining 500,000 in five yearly instalments. This last sum was repayable if Richard died without children by the marriage.

A.D. 1400. In the treaty late had by reason of the marriage between Richard, king of England, and the daughter of the king of France,—a hope being raised that the countless great and common offences, evils, inconveniences, wrongs, and shedding of blood, which have hitherto come to pass by reason of the strifes and wars between the two kingdoms, etc., might henceforth cease; and that, in better wise and more quickly, good p. 48. conclusions, peace and concord might be had between the said kingdoms, long to last in times to come; and that the bond of relationship should exist between those kings and their successors; besides that friendship and intercourse would be wonderfully fostered between their kingdoms and subjects—among other things, it was agreed that the said queen be joined in marriage with the said Richard, and that the king of France, in regard of that marriage, should pay to the said king Richard eight hundred thousand francs, whereof five hundred thousand francs have been paid.

It was also agreed that, if after solemnization of the said marriage the king of England should decease without children begotten of the said marriage, and the said queen should survive the king, she being under age or not of the age of twelve years fully completed, then the sum of five hundred thousand francs, or whatever should have been paid of the said greater sum over and above the sum of three hundred thousand francs, be given back to the said queen; whereunto the said king of England bound himself and his heirs and successors and those who should act for him, and all his goods, moveable and immoveable, then being and to come, the consent of the parliament that then was not being called for in this matter.

Is the king of England, that now is, herein bound by the lord king Richard and held to the restoration of the money so received over and above three hundred thousand francs, seeing that, in the aforesaid obligation entered into, as above, by king Richard, the kingdom had not given consent? And, if not, are the causes and suggestions set forth in the treaty



of marriage, and related above, which seem to have regard A.D. 1400. to the public benefit of both kingdoms, able to compel and enough to force the king, that now is, to the restoration of such money?

Also, by virtue of the treaty, our lord the king that now is, at the time when he was earl of Derby, and other lords more near to the royal blood did one and all, for themselves, their heirs, successors, and executors, by their letters promise, of their certain knowledge and full will, that, if the said king p. 49. Richard should decease before the consummation of the said marriage, the said queen should be restored, free and released from all bonds and hindrances of the marriage and from all other obligations whatsoever, along with all her jewels and goods, to the king of France, her father, or to his heir and successor; the said earl and others, the aforesaid lords, binding and straitly pledging themselves, their heirs, successors, and executors aforesaid, and all their goods whatsoever, moveable and immoveable, then being or to come, on behalf of all and every the aforesaid things to be held, observed, done, and wholly fulfilled, according to the form and tenour of the said letters obligatory and of the treaty of and upon the marriage aforesaid.

It is asked, how far it is to be understood of such goods: whether only of those which had been delivered with the queen, or as well those as others which had from that time until now been received by her; and whether the two hundred thousand francs, whereof mention is above made in the aforesaid treaty of marriage, are to be included under and among such goods?

Follow questions on other articles touching three millions of crowns to be paid by the king of France to the king of England:—

Formerly, in the treaty of final peace between John, king of France, and Edward, king of England, among other things, it was agreed that the king of France should pay to the king of England, or to his deputy, three millions of

A.D. 1400. crowns of gold, at certain stated terms; to which payment the king of France, at Calais, whilst he was in the power of the king of England, did bind himself and his heirs, and their goods moveable and immoveable. Of which sum one half remains to be paid.

Can the king of England, that now is, justly seek of the king of France, that now is, such money not yet paid? And, if not, doth action belong to the executors of king Edward? And, if so, can the king of England, that now is, the direct and equitable right being yielded to him by the executors of king Edward, claim the money as assignee?

p. 50. Follows the text of the letters of the king of France upon the aforesaid article, wherein are contained the causes of such treaty: "John, by the grace of God king of France, to one and all now being and to come, we make known to you by these presents that upon all disagreements and variances whatsoever moved between us, for ourselves and all those whom it may concern of the one part, and the king of England and all those whom it may concern of the other part, for the good of peace it doth stand agreed, on such a day and in such a place, in manner following: Firstly that the king of England shall have such castles and such places, etc. Also it is agreed that the king of France shall pay unto the king of England, or to his deputy, three millions of crowns of gold at certain terms," etc.

Also, seeing that the king of France, being taken in the wars by the king of England, in the agreement of final peace did bind himself and his heirs to pay to the king of England three millions of crowns, whilst the same king of France was at Calais in the power of the king of England, no mention being made in the letters of the said agreement that such payment should be made by reason of the discharge of the ransom of the said king of France,—is that obligation made void in that it is pretended that fear had influence, notwithstanding that it is well-known to all the world that the sum of money was owing for such ransom or discharge?

After the said obligation, the aforesaid king of France, A.D. 1400. being at Boulogne and at liberty, as he declared, did in his letters recite that article, wherein it is provided that the king of France should pay to the king of England, or to his deputy, the said sum at the terms agreed on, as aforesaid; and afterwards in the same letters he makes known that he had paid to his very dear brother, the king of England, a certain sum of money in part-payment of the said larger sum; and in those letters he bound himself and his heirs and all their goods whatsoever to pay to his said brother the remainder not yet paid, willing that all other bonds before made on this behalf be wholly held for nought.

It is asked as before in the said article, and especially whether this second bond of the king of France, made at Boulogne, concerning the aforesaid sum payable to the king of England, doth seem to do away with the first bond made to the king of England or in any way to renew the same, seeing that there appeareth in the writing nought distinctly concerning his consent hereto.

Also, in another article in the same treaty it is distinctly contained that, the king of France restoring certain strongholds, etc., the king of England is bound to restore certain other strongholds now held by him and his men.

If it appear that the king of France hath made surrender of the strongholds, etc., and hath fulfilled all the aforesaid on his behalf, but that the king of England hath not performed his promises, can the payment of the money promised by the king of France to the king of England, as is contained in the treaty, be justly refused?

Also, in another article in the treaty, whereof mention is made above, is contained that the king of France did promise to deliver certain strongholds to the king of England, and likewise, after such surrender, that he should make certain abjurations upon certain rights and jurisdiction and other things; moreover, that he should make to be delivered in fact and given over, at a certain time, at Bruges, to the king

A.D. 1400. of England or his deputies, letters touching such abjuration and surrender, sealed with his seal. And the king of England in like manner promised to surrender certain strongholds, and to renounce his right touching the crown of France, etc.

If it appear that the king of France, on his side, at the aforesaid day and place, was ready to fulfil all the aforesaid, and that the king of England performed not the promises made by him in this behalf, nor sent his messengers to Bruges, within the stated time, to receive the promises and offerings of the king of France and to fulfil the promises of the king of England,—can the payment of the money, as aforesaid, promised by the king of France to the king of England, be, on account of the carelessness or default of the said king of England, justly refused?

Also, if the aforesaid sum not yet paid out of the aforesaid three millions of crowns be owing to our lord the king of England, by his own right or by the right ceded by the executors of king Edward, etc., and it hath so happened that the same lord the king is held to restore to our lady the queen, daughter of the king of France, the two hundred  
 p. 52. thousand francs, whereof mention is made above,—of such sums, claimed and owed on this side and that, ought, in law, a balance thereof to be struck, although the said queen in this matter be deemed a third party, to whom restoration or payment must be made? Because, although the restoration of the two hundred thousand francs be made to the queen herself, yet was the bond in the first place struck and stablished between Richard, king of England, and Charles, now king of France. And thus it appeareth that the king of England, that now is, in his own right or in that which is ceded to him, can strike a balance between the same parties.

Also, supposing, without prejudice to fact, that the king of England, that now is, be held, as earl of Derby, to restore the aforesaid two hundred thousand francs, or can balance them, as abovesaid,—are the other lords, who were bound

along with him as joint-bails or fellow-sureties, held according to the terms of their letter, etc., to help in the payment of those two hundred thousand francs, or ought the same king first to reckon the same two hundred thousand out of the goods and jewels of king Richard? A.D. 1400.

Also, supposing again, without prejudice to fact, that the king, that now is, is held to give up the queen with her goods and jewels without let, according to the tenour of the clause set forth in the treaty,—can the same king, that now is, making exception in his own right as king of England, or in the right ceded to him by the executors of king Edward, as aforesaid, hinder the surrender of the aforesaid queen with her goods, etc., and make use of his right of arrest, until the king of France shall be willing to make satisfaction to the king, that now is, of the remainder of the three million crowns, which, as is well known, is still due and unpaid?

To put the question shortly:—Can the king of England, that now is, put forward the aforesaid exception of the unpaid remainder, or any other exception, which shall be enough to hinder the surrender of the queen with her goods, until the king of France can break down or remove such exception?

Also, the ambassadors of our lord the king, that now is, at Calais, finally promised in the treaty to the ambassadors of the king of France to give up the queen with her goods without let before the feast of the Purification of Our Lady next following, according to the tenour of the bond thereon made.

If the council of the king of France, or of the same queen, p. 53. shall refuse first of all on such surrender to give an acquittance in fact, which would sweep away and wholly root out evils without end and cause of offence and bloodshed (and yet it is likely that all these will otherwise come about by reason of this marriage, as hath often happened between England and France, in times gone by, in like conjunctures)—can the aforesaid ambassadors thereupon refuse to give up the queen with her goods, notwithstanding promise made and saving

A.D. 1400. too the honour of king and kingdom, until the others shall be willing to deliver such exclusory acquittance, etc. ?

Also, formerly in the treaty of final peace, whereof in the third point above, it was among other things agreed between the same kings, as is declared, although writing hereof appeareth not, that king Edward should cause to be driven away, and wholly withdrawn, within a fixed time, at his own cost, all his mercenaries and others his subjects who were overrunning the kingdom of France.

If it appear that king Edward fulfilled not his promises within the said term, but did afford help, counsel, and favour to the same his mercenaries and other subjects in arms, it being clear as to the making of the said agreement in the first treaty of peace, or after that treaty,—can payment of the said remainder of the three million crowns be justly refused on that score ?

On the 25th day of September, the most noble lady, my lady Philippa, daughter of my lord the earl of March, who was wedded first to the most excellent youth the earl of Pembroke who was slain in a tourney at Woodstock, and next to the noble earl of Arundel who was beheaded, and thirdly to the lord St. John, a little while after she had presented me to the church of West Hanningfield in Essex, and before she had yet reached her four-and-twentieth year, went the way of all flesh at Halnaker, near to Chichester, and lies buried in the priory of Boxgrove.<sup>1</sup>

The Lombards and other merchants from beyond seas in London, who had been wont to dwell in their own inns and  
 p. 54. had been allowed freely to offer their merchandise for sale, were now, after the foreign fashion, so restrained, that they might not dwell by themselves, but in the house of some citizen who should stand surety ; nor were they allowed at

<sup>1</sup> Philippa, daughter of Edmund, third earl of March, married first John Hastings, third earl of Pembroke, killed 30th Dec., 1391, *æt.* 17 ; secondly, Richard Fitz-Alan, fourth earl of Arundel ; and thirdly, Thomas Poynings, lord St. John.

all to offer their goods for sale, except under the care of the A.D. 1400. same citizen.

The duke of Bavaria, brother of the queen of France, was, by the aid of the French, raised up to be emperor, the king of Bohemia, who for long while had held the empire, being despised as useless and as not yet having been crowned by the pope; but he was defeated in battle with many of the French by the same king.<sup>1</sup>

Four little bells, hanging at the four corners of the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster, ringing of their own accord and with more than human power, miraculously sounded four times in one day, to the great awe and wonder of the brethren.

The spring wherein the head of Llewellyn ap Gruffydd, last prince of Wales, was washed after that it was cut off, and which is in the village of Builth, throughout a livelong day did flow in an unmixed stream of blood.<sup>2</sup>

One thing in these days I grieve to tell, that two popes, like to a monster in nature, now for two and twenty years,<sup>3</sup> most wickedly rending the seamless coat of Christ, contrary to the words of the Song of Solomon: "My dove is but one,"<sup>4</sup> too sorely vexed the world by leading astray men's souls, and racking their bodies with divers terrors. And alas! if it be true what I call to mind in the text of Scrip-

<sup>1</sup> Louis, son of Stephen, duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, and brother of Isabella of Bavaria, queen of Charles VI. of France. Adam afterwards (p. 179) appears to confuse him with Louis, son of Robert, count palatine and emperor of Germany after the deposition of Wenceslaus, and he seems to do the same in this passage. They were both called Barbatus.

<sup>2</sup> Llewellyn was defeated and slain by John Gifford and sir Edmund Mortimer, in 1282. His head, with a silver crown on it, was set up in Cheapside, in derision of the prophecy that he was to wield the sceptre of Brutus and ride through Cheapside with a crown on his head.—Thomas, *Memoirs of Owen Glendower* (1822), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> The papal schism began in 1378, by the elections of Urban VI. and Clement VII.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. vj. 9.

A.D. 1400. ture: "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men."<sup>1</sup> Whence, seeing that the priesthood was become venal, did not Christ, making him a scourge of small cords, drive out them that bought and sold in the temple? And hence I fear lest we, with many stripes and spurnings, be cast out from the glory of the priesthood. For I take heed that in the old testament, after that venality had corrupted the priesthood, the cloud of smoke, the unquenchable fire, p. 55. and the sweet smell which hurteth not ceased in the temple.

In short, lo! the virgin mother, according to the word of Revelations,<sup>2</sup> hath fled with her son into the wilderness from the face of the beast that sitteth upon the throne. And so, blessed be God! I, already making my preparation for death, leave in my native church, that is, of Usk, my memorial in a suitable missal, grail, tropar, sequence-book, and antiphonal, newly written and drawn up with new additions and notes, and in a full suit of vestments, with three copes, broidered with my bearings, that is, on a field sable, a naked man delving; and commend myself to the suffrages of prayers offered up therein. Further, I have in view, if God grant it, to adorn the same church with more worthy repair, to the glory of the Blessed Virgin, in honour of whose Nativity it is dedicated; yet do I not ponder on this to mine own praise, for God forbid that this record of my foolishness should be seen in my lifetime!

The eldest son of France was made duke of Aquitaine, in disinheritance and defiance of the king of England; and, he dying, the second son taking his places passed with an army into the parts of Aquitaine to subdue it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xij. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Louis, duke of Guienne and dauphin of France, did not die till 1415, when he was succeeded by his brother John, who, in his turn, died in 1417, and gave place to Charles, afterwards king.



The emperor of the Greeks,<sup>1</sup> to get aid against the Saracens, A.D. 1400. visited the king of England in London, on the day of St. Thomas the Apostle, being well received by him, and staying with him, at very great cost, for two months, being also comforted at his departure with very great gifts. The emperor always walked with his men, dressed alike and in one colour, namely white, in long robes cut like tabards; he finding fault with the many fashions and distinctions in dress of the English,<sup>2</sup> wherein he said that fickleness and changeable temper was betokened. No razor touched head or beard of his chaplains. These Greeks were most devout in their church services, which were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests, for they chanted them all without distinction in their native tongue. I thought within myself, what a grievous thing it was that this great Christian prince from the farther p. 56. east should be driven by unbelievers to visit the distant islands of the west to seek aid against them. My God! What dost thou, ancient glory of Rome? Shorn is the greatness of thine empire this day; and truly may the words of Jeremy be spoken to thee: "Princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!"<sup>3</sup> Who would ever believe that thou shouldst sink to such depth of misery, that, although once seated on the throne of majesty thou didst lord it over all the world, now thou hast no power to aid the Christian faith?

The king kept Christmas with the emperor at Eltham.

My lord of Canterbury sent the abbat of Leicester and me to the nuns' priory of Nuneaton, in the diocese of Lichfield, to make inquest against sir Robert Bowland, touching divers

<sup>1</sup> Manuel II. Palæologus, died in 1425.

<sup>2</sup> These were the "duche cotis," as Langland (*Richard the Redeles*) calls the German-cut clothes said to have been imported with Anne of Bohemia, conspicuous with

"A wondir curiose crafte y-come now of late,

That men clepith kerving þe cloþe all to pecis,"

and with "sleves þat slode uppon þe erthe."

<sup>3</sup> Lament. i. 1.

A.D. 1400. crimes, heresies, and errors there, as was evilly spread abroad, by him, like a serpent under the disguise of pretended holiness, wickedly committed. And then and there we found that a certain nun, by the unbounded lust of the same Robert, had become pregnant in an unnatural way, as appeared as well by the confession of the same nun as by the letters of the said Robert, and also by a view of her body taken by matrons before the birth; and that she had therefrom, on the feast of St. Petronilla last past, borne a daughter who was like to the said Robert. And this did Robert himself confess in full convocation of the clergy.

A.D. 1401. On the octave of St. Hilary (20th January), the king held a solemn parliament in London, at Westminster. And my lord of Canterbury had a great convocation of the clergy in St. Paul's church.

At the time of this parliament the lord Grey of Ruthin, heir by intestacy of the earl of Pembroke and lord of Hastings, being admitted in the court of chivalry of England, moved a costly suit against the lord Edward Hastings, touching the arms of Hastings: a manche or, on a field gules, which the latter bore as his rightfully, claiming thus to be heir in  
 p. 57. this behalf. And herein he retained me of his counsel. In this suit, the lord William Beauchamp, lord of Bergavenny, for that he, by gift of the said earl if he should die without heirs of his body begotten, with the king's leave, had a moiety of that lordship and of others which belonged to the earl, for his own advantage worked manfully with the said lord Grey; and no wonder, for the victory of the said Edward would cause both to be utterly shut out.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthin, grandson of Roger, lord Grey of Ruthin, by Elizabeth, sister of John, ninth lord Hastings, was adjudged heir of John Hastings, third earl of Pembroke (*ob.* 1391), great-grandson of the same lord Hastings. Edward Hastings was son of Hugh, lord Hastings, of Gressing Hall, co. Norf., great-grandson of the half-blood of John, eighth lord Hastings. William Beauchamp, lord Bergavenny, was son of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, by Katherine, daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and sister of Agnes, wife of Lawrence

In convocation, a certain Sir William Sawtri, a chaplain, A.D. 1401. being found guilty of, and condemned for, heresy, straight-way, on such sentence being delivered against him, with great heat spake to my lord of Canterbury these words: "I, sent by God, declare to thee that thou and all thy clergy and the king also shall anon die an evil death; and the tongue of a strange people shall hold sway in the land. And this evil stands waiting even in the gates." And he being thus condemned, having first been solemnly degraded, was afterwards, in Smithfield, in London, chained standing to a post in a barrel surrounded with lighted faggots, and was thus burned to ashes.

In the time of this parliament, at Lent, one William Clerk, a scribe of Canterbury, but born in the county of Chester, was condemned by judgment of the court military, and was first bereft of his tongue, for that he had uttered against the king accursed words, laying them to the charge of others, and then of his right hand wherewith he had written them, and lastly by penalty of talion was beheaded at the Tower, because he made not good his charges.

Ambassadors of state, on behalf of the duke of Bavaria, who had been, as above said, lately elected to the empire, arrived in England, for the marriage of the king's daughter with him.<sup>1</sup> And I said to them aside: "Is not the king of Bohemia elected and in possession of the empire? Why then this new election, with the former one not quashed?" One of them, who was a priest of rank, answered me: "Because he was useless, and as he was not yet crowned by the pope, the electors have thus done in this behalf." Then said I: "By the chapter: '*Venerabilem*,' in the title: '*De electionibus*,'<sup>2</sup> it is acknowledged that this power belongeth to the pope alone, because he himself did carry over the empire from p. 58.

Hastings, first earl of Pembroke and lord of Bergavenny. The suit for the arms was decided in favour of lord Grey, after lasting twenty years.

Our chronicler refers to negotiations for the marriage of the princess Blanche with Louis Barbatus, son of Robert, count-palatine and emperor of Germany, which took place in 1402.

<sup>2</sup> Decret. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. vj. § 34.

A.D. 1401. the Greeks to the Germans." Then the bishop of Hereford bade me hold my peace.

From this priest I had these two verses against simony, which did please me :

"These two evils shalt thou bear, if that thou be Simon's heir,  
Thou shalt burn when thou art dead : living, thou shalt want thy bread."

But now as to what is touched on above concerning the election of the emperor, and how many and what crowns he has, and by whom he is elected and receives them, and what they mean. There are seven electors, whence these verses :

"From Maintz and Trier and eke Cologne  
Come chancellors for Cæsar's throne.  
A steward, the palgrave serves his lord ;  
And Saxony doth bear the sword.  
As chamberlain a marquis bends ;  
Bohemia's king the wine-cup tends.  
On whom these princes' choice doth fall,  
He reigneth over-lord of all."<sup>1</sup>

The first crown, which is of iron, in token of valour, shall the archbishop of Cologne give to the elect ; the second, of silver, in token of chastity, shall the archbishop of Trier give ; the third, of gold, in token of excellence, shall the archbishop of Maintz give, and this last shall the pope, in the confirmation of the elect, place upon his head as he kneels at his feet in token of humility and to do honour to the holy Roman church, whose vassal he is.

<sup>1</sup> Another version of the lines appears in the Antwerp edition of the *Sextus* of 1573 :

"Magna Maguntia, crassa Colonia, Treveris alma,  
Atque Palatinus dapifer, dux portitor ensis,  
Marchio præpositus camerae, pincerna Bohemus,  
Romanum regem statuendi dant sibi legem."

It was ordained, in this parliament, that the men of the marches might use reprisals against Welshmen who were their debtors or who had injured them, a truce of a week for making amends being first had.<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1401.

Also, on behalf of the prelates, it was proposed that, whereas they are summoned to parliament as barons and so hold their temporalities of the king, therefore their rank is not lower than that of the other patrons of the kingdom, as to collation of benefices. But the commons stood out for papal provision in relief of the universities and the clergy. The prelates then undertook of their own free will to make provision of benefices within the kingdom to pious clerks.<sup>2</sup> p. 59.

I knew a certain monk in the Charter-house, near to London, who was of good health and strong, though he fasted of his own will from all kinds of food for a whole fortnight together. Whereupon the prior of the house, whose counsel I was, put the question to me, whether, if the man should in such case die, he would deserve to enjoy church burial.

In this parliament and convocation there were granted to the king by the clergy a tenth and a half, and by the people a fifteenth of all goods, with two shillings from every pipe of wine, and from other merchandize eight pence in the pound, though with much murmuring and smothered curses of clergy and people.

This parliament was ended on the tenth day of the month of March; about which time, a little before, I heard debated very many harsh things to be put in force against the Welsh: to wit, that they should not marry with the English, nor

<sup>1</sup> See *Rot. Parl.* iij. 474, for the ordinance sanctioning reprisals against the Welsh.

<sup>2</sup> See *Rot. Parl.* iij. 458, 465, touching relaxation of the statute of provisors. The commons petitioned, on behalf of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, that the king would hold them in special remembrance, "queux sont founteins de Clergie en ceste Roialme, et par especial les Graduatz, en relevation et sustentation de la Clergie et de la Foie Catholike."

A.D. 1401. get them wealth nor dwell in England, and many other grievous things. And, as God knoweth me, the night before, there roused me from my sleep a voice thus sounding in mine ears: "The plowers plowed upon my back," etc., "The Lord is righteous," etc., as in the psalm: "Many a time have they afflicted me."<sup>1</sup> Whence having awoke, and dreading that that day should bring me forth some mishap, I fearfully commended myself to the special governance of the Holy Ghost.

*Here followeth the year of our Lord 1401.*

The earl of Warwick, a man of most kindly nature, of whom I have spoken above, having been drawn forth from prison, was taken from this life on Good Friday (1st April), a day which he was wont to honour by large alms, penances, and other deeds of devotion in many ways, and changed the fleeting things of earth for those which last for ever in heaven, leaving an only son his heir, to whom the king, giving him grace of two years of nonage, delivered his inheritance.

p. 60. William ap Tedur and Reys ap Tedur, brothers, natives of the isle of Anglesey, or Mona, because they could not have the king's pardon for Owen's rebellion,<sup>2</sup> on the same Good Friday, seized the castle of Conway, which was well stored with arms and victuals, the two warders being slain by the craftiness of a certain carpenter who feigned to come to his accustomed work, and, entering therein with other forty men, they held it for a stronghold. But, straightway being beleagured by the prince and the country, on the 28th day of May next following they surrendered the same castle, through the cowardice of themselves and the treason of their comrades; for, having bound nine of their number, who were very hateful to the prince, by stealth as they slept after

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxix.

<sup>2</sup> William ap Tudor and Rhys ap Tudor were excepted, with Owen Glendower, in the pardon granted to the people of Anglesea, Merioneth, etc., 10th March, 1401. William afterwards received a pardon, 8th July of the same year.—Rymer, *Fœdera*.

the night watches, they gave them up, on condition of saving their own and the others' lives. And the nine thus bound and yielded up to the prince they straightway saw drawn, hanged, disembowelled, beheaded, and quartered. A.D. 1401.

At this same time certain men of the town of Usk, secretly leaving the church, during the service of the Passion of our Lord, entered by craft into the castle, and, breaking his prison, set free one John Fitz Pers, late seneschal therein, who, having been accused by evil report of adultery with a certain lady,<sup>1</sup> had been, to all men's wonder, condemned to death by sir Edward Charleton, who was only her natural brother, and now lay naked undergoing punishment; and they gave him up, to their great delight, to the lord Bergavenny in his castle. Yet he was afterwards on this account exiled by the king for seduction.

In these days [Tamerlane], the son of the king of Persia, conquered and took in battle the soldan of the Turks of Babylonia, called "Ilderim,"<sup>2</sup> who had struck great dread

<sup>1</sup> The words "*de adulterio cum domina quadam quia diffamatum*" are an alteration from "*propter adulterium cum domina . . . .*" (i. e. the lady's name erased). The name is formed of two or three words, the last of which contains a double s near the end. This I think is probably "*priorissa*." The space left for the rest of the name is short, and the letters have been so scraped that it is impossible to speak with certainty; but from the turn that the over-written letters are made to take, I suspect the whole name to be "*de Usk priorissa*." This, however, cannot be certain; and the matter is not very important, except perhaps to the prioress herself and to the family of Charleton, to which she seems to have belonged. I suppose that Adam means to say that she was a natural sister of sir Edward Charleton. The words "*mirabiliter*" and "*in ipsius . . . . grates*" are also written on an erasure. And, lastly, "*hac de causa*" seems to be a correction on "*acta causa*," which would point to a lawsuit. Perhaps, in this case, "*propter produccionem*," the reading of the MS. for which I have suggested "*seduccionem*," will stand, meaning "a suit having taken place for the production of the prisoner."

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reads "*Aremirandine*," which I suppose is a corruption of the name "*Ilderim*" (or Thunderbolt) given to Bajazet I. on account of his astonishing conquests. Walsingham and other chroniclers refer to the battle mentioned in the text as being fought against Balsak or

A.D. 1401. into Christendom, as boasting that he would destroy the faith, and who had been wont to invade the Christians, and especially the Hungarians, with a hundred thousand warriors ;  
 p. 61. and he utterly destroyed Jerusalem, and held those parts with great state. Wherefore the pilgrimage of Christians to those parts is now hindered.

On the first day of May, at Philip's Norton, the cloth merchants slew, in the midst of the market-place, a certain retainer of the king, who, carrying with him royal letters, strove to exact for sale of such cloths, against the king's promise made on his happy coming into the land, a tax, rate, or due, which had been remitted. Wherefore, because the king's justices, although peers of the realm, were unable to punish such excess, on account of the resistance of the townspeople, the king in his own person coming to the place settled the disturbance in some way, though with gentle punishment. Another such tax-gatherer, at Dartmouth in Devonshire, being attacked by the people, hardly seized a boat and got out to sea. At Bristol, the wives, acting the part of their husbands, gave the gatherers a like defeat, sometimes giving and receiving wounds.

The lord of the Orkney Isles,<sup>1</sup> to the great injury of my lord of March, who was still in wardship of the king, thought good to attack Ulster in Ireland belonging to the earl.

On the feast of the Ascension of our Lord (12th May), in this year, the villeins of Bergavenny rose against their lord, the lord William Beauchamp,<sup>2</sup> and, setting free, at the very gallows, three men condemned to death for theft, who on that same day, at the wish of that second Jezabel, the lady

Bassak, a son of Bajazet, who was named "Admiratus." This appears to be only another rendering of the same name. Bajazet was defeated and taken prisoner by Tamerlane at Angora, 16th June, 1401.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Henry Sinclair, second earl of Orkney. Henry, the first earl, died about 1400, but the exact date is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> William Beauchamp, lord Bergavenny, married Joan, daughter of Richard, earl of Arundel, and widow of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford.



of the place, without reverence to festival or time, were to A.D. 1401. be hanged, slew with a shower of arrows sir William Lucy, knight, who had been appointed to the execution.

On the eve of the Apostles Peter and Paul (28th June), Isabella, daughter of the king of France, queen of England, and widow of Richard late king of England (though not yet eleven years of age) after much treating thereon, departed from London to her father, clad in mourning weeds, and showing a countenance of lowering and evil aspect to king Henry, and scarce opening her lips as she went her way. Concerning her departure, of which I was witness, the people were moved, and those in power chafed, some cursing her p. 62. coming into this land, as being the cause of all its troubles, others declaring that, now she was gone, she would bring on us greater worry by the kindling of her vengeance for the death of king Richard, her late husband.

In this year of our Lord, 1401, on the feast of the Commemoration of St. Paul (30th June), a certain king of arms of Scotland, called in English a herald, was, for evil things spoken by him against king Henry in the kingdom of France, condemned by the court of chivalry, being first stripped of his badges and with his face turned to his horse's tail, to ride through London and then to have his tongue cut out. But the king sent him back to the king of Scotland, his master, with letters setting forth his disgrace, in a more handsome way than that same ride.

On the same day a great suit was held in the same court between the lord Grey of Ruthin, for whom I appeared, and the lord Edward Hastings, for the arms: on a field gules, a manche or, whereof above, which were formerly those of the lords of Bergavenny; and between sir John Colville of Dale,<sup>1</sup> against whom I pleaded, and sir Walter Byttervey, of the county of Salop, knights, for the arms: on a field or, a fess,

<sup>1</sup> Executed, in 1405, for complicity in archbishop Scrope's rising. Shakspeare introduces him in the *Second Part of king Henry the Fourth* (act iv. sc. iij.) as Falstaff's prisoner.

A.D. 1401. three torteaux in chief gules ; judgment of possession being refused to both sides, and they urging the suit with much heat.

All this summer, Owen Glendower, with many chiefs of Wales, who were held for exiles and traitors to the king, lurking in the mountainous and wooded parts, sometimes pillaging, sometimes slaying their enemies who laid snares and attacked them, harassed not lightly the parts of West and North Wales; and they took prisoner the lord Grey.<sup>1</sup>

The French seized for themselves a great part of Gascony, which clave to England, and specially all the county of Perigord,<sup>2</sup> to wit, the city itself with thirty castles and all the  
p. 63. lands of the same county. I saw the count, on the above-said day, come to the king to speak of what has been told.

Then also I saw some lords of Ireland who loudly complained before the king against the fierceness of the Irish mercenaries.

Tideman [de Winhecumb] bishop of Worcester, some time monk of Hales, whose counsel I had been, and whom king Richard, after that he had been driven forth from his monastery for the evil arts of brewing charms and weaving spells, raised up to be bishop, first of Llandaff, and then of Worcester, ended his days on the 6th of June. Wherefore the king wrote to the pope on behalf of master Richard Clifford, keeper of his privy seal, that it would please him, having changed the provision of the church of Wells,—which had been made to the same Richard, who however had not yet been consecrated by reason of the king withstanding it,—to make provision of the church of Worcester to him, and to master Henry Bowet, doctor of laws (with whom I had been retained), of the church of Wells, which had now been vacant for a year and a half on account of the said resistance.

<sup>1</sup> Glendower's rebellion first arose out of a quarrel with lord Grey of Ruthin. He exacted 10,000 marks for his ransom.

<sup>2</sup> Archambaud IV., count of Perigord, was, for rebellion, deprived of his county and condemned to death, in April 1398; but the capital sentence was remitted. He fled to England at the end of the year. His son

On the same feast of Commemoration, the lord George, earl A.D. 1401. of Dunbar in Scotland,<sup>1</sup> became the liege-man of the king of England, yielding up to him all his inheritance and strongholds held in the kingdom of Scotland; but it was said that the Scots, forestalling this his deed, seized the same to the use of the king of Scotland, so that such homage and surrender seemed to do but little profit, aye very little, to the king of England.

Behold! there was sent to king Henry the following letter, well becoming the times: "Most noble prince and lord, may it please your highness, with your wonted kindness, to look favourably upon me your highness's servant, who, filled heart and soul with grief, lies prostrate at your feet. Whereas your anointed highness did require of me, the least of your servants, when last I went out from before you with heavy heart, that, if I had heard aught, I should make it known unto your excellency without delay, now, as your most obedient servant, do I take my pen in my hand to show what I have heard and seen. Truly, most noble prince, as the wise p. 64. Solomon doth bear witness in the Proverbs of the Holy Ghost: 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful,'<sup>2</sup> therefore, as a true lover of you and of your kingdom, and, according to my strength, a faithful servant to God and to you, I have chosen, with the psalmist,<sup>3</sup> rather to be 'a doorkeeper in the house of my God,'<sup>4</sup> for the truth's sake, than, with traitor Judas, to live amongst kingly pleasures and carry on my lips the kiss of flattery. Therefore, dissolved in tears, and my heart torn with wounds by reason of my grief, I declare with the prophet that 'they

Archambaud V., was likewise banished in the following year. The county of Perigord was given to Louis, duke of Orleans.

<sup>1</sup> According to Douglas (*Peerage of Scotland*), George, earl of Dunbar and March, left Scotland in July, 1400. His reason for renouncing his own country was that the duke of Rothsay, son of king Robert III., had broken a contract to marry his daughter. The earl returned to Scotland in 1409.

<sup>2</sup> Prov. xxvii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Baptista. MS.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lxxxiv. 10.

A.D. 1401. which call thee blessed cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths.’<sup>1</sup> And hence, of such great desolation in the hearts of the prudent, for the disorder and tumult which they fear shall in short time arise in this land, never, from the days of my youth, do I remember to have heard. For law and justice are banished from the realm; thefts, murders, adulteries, fornications, oppression of the poor, hurts, wrongs, and much reproach, are rife; and one tyrant will doth serve for law. And therefore sure am I that if the gospel be true, which saith that ‘every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation,’<sup>2</sup> and if the words of the wise man be not foolishness, who declareth that ‘because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, reproaches, and divers deceits, the kingdom is translated from one people to another’<sup>3</sup>—if, I say, all these things do wax unbridled in the land, and there be no man of power in the kingdom, clerk nor knight, who, as a faithful minister of Christ, may stand against or heal these and other countless offences and scorn of our God, I say, with the faithful prophet, that the Lord God, strong and mighty, ‘is angry with the wicked every day, and if ye turn not, he will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow, and made it ready. He hath also prepared for him the instruments of death; he ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors,’<sup>4</sup> so that, after that the manifest miracles of God and his exceeding loving-kindnesses have in fact and deed been despised or unheeded, He shall bring down swift and raging vengeance upon his unthankful servants and those who openly despise Him. But we hoped that your wonderful entry into the realm of England, which I doubt not was the work of the hand of God,

p. 65. would have redeemed Jerusalem, that is to say, would have changed all the aforesaid ills and the contempt of God, to the punishment of evil-doers and the praise of the just. But now the prudent do weep, and the froward laugh; the widow, the fatherless and the orphan wring their hands; and tears

<sup>1</sup> Is. iij. 12. Author. vers., “they which lead thee,” etc.

<sup>2</sup> Luke xi. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ecclesiastic. x. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. vij. 11—13.

flow down the cheeks of those who, but a little while ago, A.D. 1401. were people who, with applauding hands and praising God with one voice, went forth with the sons of Jerusalem, on the day of Palms, to welcome Christ, and who cried aloud of you, their anointed king, as of another Christ: 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, our king of England!' hoping for a happy reign over the land. But now our harp is turned to mourning,<sup>1</sup> and our joy is changed into sorrow, while all evils are multiplied, and the hope of healing hath with sadness gone out from the hearts of men. Therefore doth God, who is a righteous judge, bringing hard punishment and vengeance on the neglect and carelessness of the rulers of the land, permit the commons, like wild beasts, without rule and without reason, to sit in judgment, and usurp, contrary to nature, the government which belongeth to those above them, and to rage like the brutes, without the balance of reason, against those who are above them, those who are equal with them, and those who are below them. And in truth, if I mistake not, your royal authority will wax wrath at the rebellion of the people, and so sorely will your vigour and warlike fierceness be roused, that even in one province of your kingdom, perhaps, which God forbid! some twenty thousand of your liegemen may fall by the edge of the sword, till the fury of the executors be glutted—you, who, when you came into the land, did pledge yourself to shield from their enemies the people of God, all and every the dwellers in the kingdom, poor and rich, great and small. But not thus will the murmuring of the people cease, nor will the displeasure of your angered God, but more and more will it be roused to fury, and more and more, when the time cometh, will it rage, even to vengeance, until law and justice shall be kept in the land, and wrongs and unjust deeds and oppression of the people shall be done away and blotted out, and, by the upright law of justice, every man shall have his own; so that peace may first be re-established between God and man, and

<sup>1</sup> Job xxx. 31.

A.D. 1401. thence may afterwards in deed and in truth be had between  
 p. 66. man and his neighbour. 'For who hath hardened himself  
 against Him, and hath prospered?'<sup>1</sup> Because your covenants  
 and 'your iniquities have separated between you and your  
 God, and your sins have hid his face from you,'<sup>2</sup> therefore,  
 by the just judgment of God, 'as many as have sinned  
 without law shall also perish without law,'<sup>3</sup> and they who  
 despise the law, being convinced of the law, shall be justified  
 according to the law. And, according to the Blessed Paul,  
 'not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers  
 of the law shall be justified;'<sup>4</sup> and, on the other hand, the  
 despisers of the law shall be confounded, as for two years we  
 behold in king Richard, as in a wonder-mirror, examples  
 which shall ever be held in unfailing and undying remem-  
 brance by the whole world throughout all ages. Therefore  
 may my God, the sun of justice, take away the veil from your  
 eyes, that you may clearly see with the eyes of your mind  
 what, at your happy coming into the kingdom of England,  
 you did vow in public and in private to a faithful God who  
 forgetteth not, and further, what justice and what obedience  
 you have repaid to a thankworthy and gracious God, and to  
 the kingdom of England, for all his benefits. And if you  
 find aught wanting, speedily, for fear of vengeance, hasten to  
 repay; and if you find aught of righteousness, give thanks to  
 the Lord, the giver of all good things, who rendereth exactly  
 to every man according to his deserts. And may the Blessed  
 Trinity, in whose hand are the hearts of kings and the  
 governance of kingdoms, give to you a teachable and a yield-  
 ing heart, easily led to all good, to fulfil with faithfulness  
 the unminished duty of kingly rank, and to understand in  
 your heart and to heal with power the sufferings of your  
 people; and may the Lord open your heart in his law and in  
 his commandments, and give peace in the kingdom of Eng-  
 land for ever and ever. Written, if it please your lordship,  
 with a trembling heart, and with sickening love, at London, on

<sup>1</sup> Job, ix. 4.<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, lix. 2.<sup>3</sup> Rom. ij. 12.<sup>4</sup> Rom. ij. 13.

Wednesday, the morrow of the Invention of Holy Cross A.D. 1401. (4th May), by the hand of your bedesman. Most serene prince, these things, as a true worshipper of God, and as a friend of your government, if good, and as a faithful lover and bedesman of the state and your kingdom, giving freedom to my heart's thoughts, have I already spoken by the words p. 67. of my mouth in your presence; and now, if it please you, I write them unto you, burning with the same desire and love, aye yearning love, before that they come to pass, that, when they shall come to pass, you may believe, and that, when their hour is come, you may remember that I spake to you, saying: 'When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth; and he will shew you things to come.'<sup>1</sup> Behold! a man who loves you with a yearning love."

On the 28th day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1401, the aforesaid queen of England, still a child, crossed over to Calais, and there, until the first day of August next following, during the treating between our people of England and the councillors of the king of France, she stayed; and on that day she, with her jewels and dower, was honourably received by the French, to be sent to the king of France, her father, all the English, of either sex, being sent back to their own homes.

In this summer the fleets of England and France attacked each other much at sea.

On the morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (26th August), in the same year, our lord king Henry, with the peers from all parts of the land hereto called, in a great and solemn council held at Westminster, determined that his adversaries in France and Scotland should be by him attacked in war.

In this autumn, Owen Glendower, all North Wales and Cardigan and Powis siding with him, sorely harried with fire and sword the English who dwelt in those parts, and their towns, and specially the town of Pool. Wherefore the

<sup>1</sup> John, xvj. 13.

A.D. 1401. English, invading those parts with a strong power, and utterly laying them waste and ravaging them with fire, hunger and sword, left them a desert, not even sparing children or churches, nor the monastery of Strata-florida, wherein the king himself was a guest, the church of which and its choir, even up to the high altar, they used as a stable, and pillaged even the patens; and they carried away into England more than a thousand children of both sexes to be  
 p. 68. their servants. Yet did the same Owen do no small hurt to the English, slaying many of them, and carrying off the arms, horses and tents of the king's eldest son, the prince of Wales, and of other lords, which he bare away for his own behoof to the mountain fastnesses of Snowdon.

In these days, western Wales and in particular all the diocese of Llandaff was at peace from every kind of trouble of invasion or defence.

Among those slain by the above inroad of the English, Llewellyn ap Gruffydd Vazán, of Cayo in the county of Cardigan, a man of gentle birth and bountiful, who yearly used sixteen pipes of wine in his household, because he was well disposed to the said Owen, was, on the feast of St Denis (9th Oct.), at Llanarmon-Dyfryn (?), in the presence of the king and his eldest son,<sup>1</sup> and by his command, drawn, hanged, beheaded and quartered.

At this time, about Michaelmas, a quarter of wheat on a sudden rose in price from one noble to two, and in some parts of England to three nobles.

Throughout all Wales the strongholds were repaired in walls and ditches.

Died the noble lord, lord John Charleton, lord of Powis, at his castle of Pool, on the day of S. Lucy (13th December), to whom of right succeeded the lord Edward, his brother, a most graceful youth, lord, in right of his wife, the countess of March, of Usk and Caerleon.

<sup>1</sup> The words "cum filio suo primogénito" might more strictly mean the son of the sufferer. I think, however, that the prince of Wales is referred to.



The lord Thomas, the king's second son, crossed over with A.D. 1401. a great host to subdue the rebellion of the Irish. So too the earl of Rutland, to withstand the invasion of the French, went over into Gascony.

The Scots, refusing to treat for peace or truce with the English, declared war and defiance against them, on Saint Martin's day (11th November).

The commons of Cardigan, being pardoned their lives, deserted Owen, and returned, though in sore wretchedness, to their homes, being permitted to use the Welsh tongue, p. 69. although its destruction had been determined on by the English, Almighty God, the King of kings, the unerring Judge, having mercifully ordained the recall of this decree at the prayer and cry of the oppressed.

On the morrow of All Hallows (2nd November), Owen, wishing to lay siege to Carnarvon, there, in the midst of a great body of men, unfurled his standard, a golden dragon on a white field; but, being attacked by those within, he was driven to flight, losing three hundred of his men.

At this time, our lord the king made a levy on all the A.D. 1402. land for the marriage of his daughters.

The lords Percy, father and son, subdued with vigour the rebellion of the Scots, slaying and taking prisoners a great number.

Owen and his men cruelly harried the lordship of Ruthin, in North Wales, and its town with fire and sword, on the last day but one of January, carrying off the spoil of the land and specially the cattle, to the mountains of Snowdon; yet did he spare much the lordship of Denbigh and others of the earl of March, having at his back the two counties of Cardigan and Merioneth which were favourable to him both for government and war.

A certain knight, called David ap Jevan Goz, of the county of Cardigan, who for full twenty years had fought against the Saracens with the king of Cyprus and other Christians, being sent by the king of France to the king of Scotland on

A.D. 1402. Owen's behalf, was taken prisoner by English sailors and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

A.D. 1401. Messengers of Owen, bearing letters as follows, addressed to the king of Scotland and lords of Ireland, were taken in Ireland and beheaded : " Most high and mighty and redoubted lord and cousin, I commend me to your most high and royal majesty, humbly as it beseemeth me, with all honour and reverence. Most redoubted lord and sovereign cousin, please it you and your most high majesty to know that Brutus, your most noble ancestor and mine, was the first crowned king  
p. 70. who dwelt in this realm of England, which of old times was called Great Britain. The which Brutus begat three sons: to wit, Albanact, Locrine, and Camber. From which same Albanact you are descended in direct line. And the issue of the same Camber reigned royally down to Cadwalladar, who was the last crowned king of my people, and from whom I, your simple cousin, am descended in direct line; and after whose decease, I and my ancestors and all my said people have been, and are still, under the tyranny and bondage of mine and your mortal enemies, the Saxons; whereof you, most redoubted lord and very sovereign cousin, have good knowledge. And from this tyranny and bondage the prophecy saith that I shall be delivered by the help and succour of your royal majesty. But, most redoubted lord and sovereign cousin, I make grievous plaint to your royal majesty and most sovereign cousinship, that it faileth me much in soldiers. Wherefore, most redoubted lord and very sovereign cousin, I humbly beseech you, kneeling upon my knees, that it may please your royal majesty to send to me a certain number of soldiers who may aid me and withstand, with God's help, mine and your enemies; having regard, most redoubted lord and very sovereign cousin, to the chastisement of this mischief and of all the many past mischiefs which I and my ancestors of Wales have suffered at the hands of mine and your mortal enemies. And be it understood, most redoubted lord and very sovereign cousin, that I shall not fail all the days of my

life to be bounden to do you service and to repay you. And A D. 1401. in that I cannot send unto you all my businesses in writing, I send these present bearers fully informed in all things, to whom be pleased to give faith and belief in what they shall say to you by word of mouth. From my court. Most redoubted lord and very sovereign cousin, may the Almighty Lord have you in his keeping."

"Health and fulness of love, most dread lord and most trusty cousin. Be it known unto you that a great discord or war hath arisen between us and our and your deadly enemies, the p. 71. Saxons: which war we have manfully waged now for nearly two years past, and henceforth mean and hope to wage and carry out to a good and effectual end, by the grace of God our Saviour, and by your help and countenance. But, seeing that it is commonly reported by the prophecy that, before we can have the upper hand in this behalf, you and yours, our well-beloved cousins in Ireland, must stretch forth hereto a helping hand; therefore, most dread lord and trusty cousin, with heart and soul we pray you that of your horse and foot soldiers, for the succour of us and our people who now this long while are oppressed by our enemies and yours, as well as to oppose the treacherous and deceitful will of those same enemies, you despatch to us as many as you shall be able with convenience and honour, saving in all things your honourable state, as quickly as may seem good unto you. Delay not to do this, by the love we bear you and as we put our trust in you, although we be unknown to you, seeing that, most dread lord and cousin, so long as we shall be able to manfully wage this war in our borders, as doubtless is clear to you, you and all the other chiefs of your land of Ireland will in the mean time have welcome peace and calm repose. And because, my lord cousin, the bearers of these presents shall make things known to you more fully by word of mouth, if it please you, you shall give credence to them in all things which they shall say to you on our behalf, and you may trustfully confide to them whatsoever you will, dread lord and cousin, that we your poor

A.D. 1401. cousin shall do. Dread lord and cousin, may the Almighty preserve your reverence and lordship in long life and good fortune. Written in North Wales, on the twenty-ninth day of November."

A.D. 1402. And now, O God, Thou, who of thine unbounded grace  
p. 72. didst grant me to fulfil my student's time at Oxford and the three years' doctor's course, and then seven years' duty as pleader in the court of Canterbury, and in all other business whatsoever hast been my help, from the days of my youth to old age and decay, desert me not; but make of me an example for goodness, that they who come nigh me may behold and be astonished, since Thou, Lord, hast helped me and comforted me. And now grant that my journey to Rome, as Thou hast ordered it, both in my going thither and in my departing thence to return hither according to my desire, whether I be numbered among advocates or auditors, may mercifully receive Thy consolation, to the honour and praise of Thy name, and to my welfare in either man, and with threefold honour and temporal wealth.

To be short. On the 19th of February, in the year of our Lord 1401[2], I, the writer of this history, as, by the will of God, I determined, took ship at Billingsgate in London, and with a favouring wind crossed the sea, and, within the space of a day landing at Bergen-op-Zoom, in Brabant, the country which I sought, I set my face towards Rome. Thence passing through Diest, Maastricht, Aachen, Cöln, Bonn, Coblentz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Breisach, Basel, Bern,<sup>1</sup> Lucerne and its wonderful lake, Mont St. Gotthard and the hermitage on its summit, where I was drawn in a cart by an ox, half frozen with cold and with mine eyes blindfold lest I should see the dangers of the passage, on the eve of Palm Sunday (18th March) I arrived at Bellinzona, in Lombardy. Thence through Como, Milan, Piacenza, Borgo-San-Donnino, Terenzo,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The MS. places Bern after Lucerne.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reads "Carenciam." I can find no place bearing anything like this name between Borgo S. Donnino and Pontremoli. There is, how-

Pontremoli, Pietrasanta, Pisa, Siena, and Viterbo, turning A.D. 1402. aside from Bologna, Florence, and Perugia, on account of the raging wars and sieges of the duke of Milan, of whom hereafter, and the perils thereof, and halting for two days at every best inn for refreshment of myself and men, and still more of my horses, on the 5th of April, by the favour of God and by the fear caused by our escort, I came safely through all to Rome. And within a fortnight after, being presented, with his recommendation, by the lord Balthasar, cardinal deacon of St. Eustace, afterwards pope John XXIII.,<sup>1</sup> to our lord the p. 73. pope Boniface the ninth, by whom I was honourably received to the kiss of foot, hand, and cheek, and then being given over to the cardinal of Bologna, afterwards pope Innocent VII.,<sup>2</sup> to be examined as to my knowledge, and by him approved, I was within a fortnight, by the advice of the pope and the Rota, raised to the dignity of papal chaplain and auditor of the apostolic palace and judge of city and world, being invested by the pope himself with the ensigns of office, namely the cope, rochet, and hat. And, within a se'ennight after, the pope assigned thirty grave cases, which had been referred to his hearing, to be determined by me.

In my journey hither, first at Cologne and thence right up to Pisa, as well by night as by day, I beheld a dreadful comet which went before the sun, a terror to the world—to the clergy which is the sun thereof, and to the knighthood which is its moon—which forecast the death of the duke of Milan, as it soon after came to pass. His dreaded arms too, a serpent azure swallowing a naked man gules, on a field argent, were then oftentimes seen in the air.

ever, a small place, Terenzo, laid down on the maps just half way between those towns, and, allowing for the confusion of C. and T. common in MSS., this place may perhaps be meant, though I by no means feel sure about it.

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Balthasar Cossa became pope John XXIII. in 1410.

<sup>2</sup> Cosma de' Meliorati, appointed bishop of Bologna, but refused by the people. He, however, always kept the title of Cardinal of Bologna. He became pope Innocent VII. in 1404.

A.D. 1401-2. The duke of Bavaria, being chosen emperor, entered Italy, eagerly striving to make for Rome for his coronation. But suffering defeat at the hands of the said duke at Padua, his design was brought to nought, and he withdrew confounded to his own land.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1402. This duke, having subdued Bologna, the delight of the world and the glory of Italy, a man before whom all the earth was quiet,<sup>2</sup> and who, turning aside the mighty river Po through the midst of mountains and over many miles of land, just as the great Cyrus drew away the Euphrates from Babylon, had gained Padua, fell before a sudden plague, to the great sorrow of strangers, because, ruling his lands with a rod of iron, he gave free passage through them to wayfarers.

<sup>1</sup> The emperor Robert advanced into Italy against the duke of Milan, October 1401, but was beaten at Brescia, and retired in the following April.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Maccabees, i. 3. Gian-Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, one of the most extraordinary men that Italy ever saw, was a perfect incarnation of the statecraft of his time. Physically a coward, by the clearness of his intellect and his wonderful powers of organization he conquered the greater part of northern Italy, and was only checked when he came in contact with the republic of Florence. He succeeded his father Galeazzo in 1378, and began his career by entrapping and murdering his uncle Bernabo. Not that Bernabo was much to be regretted, who was undoubtedly one of the most cruel tyrants that even Italy in those days could produce, and who had joined his brother Galeazzo in murdering their elder brother Matteo and sharing his possessions. Gian-Galeazzo was always successful. Even when attacked on all sides by a combination of his enemies, he shook them off and advanced to fresh victories. His last conquest was Bologna. Soon after its capture the appearance of the plague frightened him into retirement at Marignano, where however he sickened and died on the 3rd September, 1402. He is said to have pointed to the comet which was then blazing in the heavens as a sign of his approaching end. Adam, with, I fear, his usual tendency for recording gossip, has made some mistakes in details. Padua was taken by Gian-Galeazzo as far back as 1388, but whether the waters of the Brenta (not the Po, as Adam states) were diverted does not appear. However, the duke had the design, which he partly carried out, of changing the channels of the Brenta and Mincio and drying up the lagoons of Venice, in order to attack the republic. In 1390, Padua was recovered by Francesco da Carrara, who effected an entry by the bed of the river.

And surely was it believed that, had he but lived another year, A.D. 1402. he had reigned over Germany and Italy as one kingdom. In every prince's family in Europe he had spies in his pay, to make known to him any news, at much cost, besides bribing p. 74. the princes themselves to his side by great gifts. But see! according to the common saying, "Ill gotten gains scarce reach the third generation," his great-uncle, the archbishop of Milan,<sup>1</sup> a man of large mind, vicar of the empire, leaving, at the time of his death, his two nephews, that is, the lord Galeazzo, father of this duke, and the lord Bernabo, his uncle, captains in the emperor's camp, bequeathed to them pride and mutual hate by filching the rights of the empire, and left his ill gotten gains to be lost in the person of this duke who was the third after him.

On the death of the said duke of Milan, the duke of Bavaria, who was elected emperor, sent a solemn embassy to the pope for his confirmation, which he had, as appears below. Bologna, Perugia, and other lands of the church, which had been commended to the deceased duke, broke into revolt; but were brought back into subjection by the efforts of the said cardinal of St. Eustace.

Throughout all Lombardy and Tuscany treaties of peace and concord were torn up; and, by the party-warfare of Guelfs and Ghibellines, tumults raged with fire and sword.

On the 22nd of December, abuses of indulgences, unions, exceptions, pluralities, and other things which brought scandal on the court, were, while I was present, revoked, or more truly I may say were renewed; for, alas! a new sale of pardons for what had been revoked grew up. Contrary to

<sup>1</sup> This was Giovanni Visconti, the friend of Petrarch, who governed Milan from 1349 to 1354. He recalled his three nephews, Matteo, Galeazzo, and Bernabo from exile, and on his death left them to divide his possessions. He was not vicar of the empire, as Adam states, but that office was held by his father Matteo. So far from quarrelling, as the chronicle would make out, Galeazzo and Bernabo, the two despots, seem to have governed the Milanese with remarkable amiability towards one another.

A.D. 1402. the revocation of unions, the pope conferred on me, the writer of this history, the archdeaconry of Buckingham, with the churches of Knoyle, Tisbury, and Deverill, in England; but, the Welsh war preventing this, he gave me the archdeaconry of Llandaff and Caermarthen, with the church of Llandefaillog and the prebend of Llanbister.

A.D. 1403. In the year of our Lord 1402[3] Ladislaus, king of Naples, seeking for himself the kingdom of Hungary, by right of descent, entered it with a strong force. But having subdued only Slavonia, he was bravely driven back by Sigismund, brother of queen Anne of England, and afterwards emperor, who then held the kingdom; and returned with shame into Italy.

p. 75. My God! how grievously now were church and empire harassed and laid waste with internecine slaughters, the one with two, the other with three rulers. And specially that empire of the Greeks—founded by the race of the great Constantine, who ruled in Britain, the son of the holy Helena, and first by him transferred from the Romans to the Greeks, and lastly by pope Stephen from the Greeks to the Germans—is now laid waste by Turks and Tartars.

A.D. 1402. On the day of St. Alban (22nd June), near to Knighton in Wales, was a hard battle fought between the English under sir Edmund Mortimer and the Welsh under Owen Glendower, with woeful slaughter even to eight thousand souls, the victory being with Owen. And, alas! the said sir Edmund, whose father, the lord of Usk, gave me an exhibition at the schools, was by fortune of war taken captive. And, being by his enemies in England stripped of all his goods and thus hindered from paying ransom, in order to escape more easily the pains of captivity, he is known by common report to have wedded the daughter of the same Owen; by whom he had a son, Lionel, and three daughters, all of whom, except

<sup>1</sup> Ladislaus, king of Naples, was crowned king of Hungary, 5th August, 1403; but fled on hearing of Sigismund's approach. He also set up a claim to the empire.



one daughter, along with their mother are now dead. At A.D. 1402. last, being by the English army beleaguered in the castle of Harlech, he brought his days of sorrow to an end, his wonderful deeds being to this day told in song.

In this year also the lord Grey of Ruthin, being taken in war by the same Owen, with the slaughter of two thousand of his men, was kept in prison; but was set free on payment of ransom of sixteen thousand pounds of gold.

At so great a blow thus given by Owen to the English rule, when I think thereon, my heart trembles. For, begirt by thirty thousand men who issued from their lairs, throughout Wales and its marches he overthrew the castles, among which were Usk, Caerleon, and Newport, and fired the towns. In short, like a second Assyrian, the rod of God's anger,<sup>1</sup> he did deeds of unheard-of tyranny with fire and sword.

These things I heard of at Rome. And there everything was bought and sold, so that benefices were given not for desert, but to the highest bidder. Whence, every man who p. 76. had wealth and was greedy for empty glory, kept his money in the merchants' bank to further his advancement. And therefore, as, when under the old testament the priesthood were corrupted with venality, the three miracles ceased, namely, the unquenchable fire of the priesthood, the sweet smell of sacrifice which offendeth not, and the smoke which ever riseth up, so I fear will it come to pass under the new testament. And methinks the danger standeth daily knocking at the very doors of the church.

In this year the king, with one hundred thousand men and more divided into three bodies, invaded Wales against Owen. But he and his poor wretches keeping close in their caves and woods, the king laid waste the land and returned victoriously, with a countless spoil of cattle, into his own country.

The lord Fitz-Walter, who while in Rome listened to my

<sup>1</sup> Is. x. 5.

A.D. 1402. advice (but in this he consulted me not), wishing to pass by sea from Rome to Naples, was taken by Saracens and carried prisoner to Tunis, the chief city of the savages; but, though ransomed by Genoese merchants, he delayed returning to England by reason of the troubles there and died at Venice.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1403. For the abovesaid confirmation of the emperor, this text is pronounced: "Father, glorify thy son."<sup>2</sup> And the pope answers in the form of a collation:<sup>3</sup> "My arm also shall strengthen him."<sup>4</sup> And this is the bull of confirmation: "Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved son, Robert, duke of Bavaria, king elect of the Romans, health and apostolic blessing. The Father of boundless and most high majesty, who disposeth all things by his merciful providence, hath ordered the world in kingdoms, which He hath willed to be directed by good counsel and to be governed with healthful governance, lest the estate of the human creature, which doth manifest the image and likeness of his Creator, might be overwhelmed in the gulf of the  
p. 77. stormy waves of this world, or hindered from the sweet pleasure of peaceful rest,—in truth, that all might live a peaceful life bound by the rule of law and honour, and that each might withhold from offence against his neighbour, and might acknowledge with natural love the great Maker, might worship Him when known, and might submit to his dread empire. At length the Father, looking down from on high, and seeing that the people which He had made had incurred the sentence of damnation, mercifully sent into the world the King of Peace, his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of his people. Who, putting on the flesh of our mortality, rescued the people from the pangs of everlasting death and redeemed them with his precious blood. We therefore, who, undeserving though we

<sup>1</sup> Walter, ninth lord Fitz-Walter, died in 1407.

<sup>2</sup> John xvij. 1.

<sup>3</sup> After "collacionis" the manuscript reads "in utroque," of which I can make nothing.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lxxxix. 21.

be, bear his office upon earth, like to a shepherd keep watch A.D. 1403. both of body and mind, in order to see what may be profitable to the flock committed to us, and what toil must be spent, so that, by the aid of Him, whose are the pillars of the earth,<sup>1</sup> and by whom actions are weighed,<sup>2</sup> and who governeth the deeds of mortal men, we may profitably set forth what must be done in that which we see to be of advantage to the faithful. In fact, of late, the pope Urban the sixth of blessed memory, who was next before us, perceiving by prudent thought that the world is placed by the bonds of sin in evil plight, and that, by the ordering of the Lord, to whom all things are obedient, the mother church of Rome doth hold the chief lordship over kings and kingdoms, as mother and mistress of all, in order that by her ministry the foundation of the catholic faith may be well governed, did by divers messages and letters, at various times, with fatherly affection urge our dearly-beloved son in Christ Wenceslaus, then king of Bohemia and of the Romans, for the defence of the church militant and for the honour and estate of the holy empire, as his duty required of him, to come within the borders of Italy to receive the crown of the empire. And seeing him to be lukewarm herein from too much sloth, while he still warned him now by letters, now p. 78. by messengers, he most urgently required the electors of the empire, as the principal members thereof, at fitting times and with proper remedies, to exhort the same Wenceslaus to come down into Italy, and with pressure and with due warnings force him thereto. But at length the same Urban, our predecessor, by the Lord's will, was withdrawn from the light of this life, and we, being by the mercy of God raised to the summit of the chief apostleship, sought with the greatest zeal of our heart to withstand the offences which we saw growing up to the harm of the church of Rome, our spouse, and so to that of the empire; and therefore, as well

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. ij. 8.<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ij. 3.

A.D. 1403. by messages as by letters, with fatherly kindness we interferred, in order that we might be able to draw the said Wenceslaus to such journey in divers ways which we thought suitable, never giving up any possible chance which appeared profitable. And, perceiving the exhortations of our said predecessor and our own to profit nothing, that the prudence of the apostolic court should leave nothing untried in so grave a case and weighty a matter, we bring to remembrance that oftentimes we wrote to our reverend brethren and beloved sons, the electors of the sacred empire, that they—having regard to the dangers which from the exceeding sloth of the aforesaid Wenceslaus were ever assailing the church and the empire and the Christian religion, and above all seeing that France, which we ever perceive to strain with all her strength for usurpation, or at least for the division of the church and empire, hath seized on the imperial city of Genoa, which lieth in the jaws of Italy—should in all fitting ways and with timely aid and warning, rouse the same Wenceslaus to come into Italy, after the manner of the lords his predecessors, to receive from our hands the crown of the empire, and to prevent the French from making good their footing in Italy, and to defend the church and empire as by his office he is bound to do. At length the electors themselves perceiving that his delay did cause endless losses, and the abovesaid exhortations to be in vain and of none effect, though made with persistence, for this work which is so sacred and necessary for Christendom, and that the same Wenceslaus was utterly useless for the government of the said empire, and lest the commonwealth of the same empire should by his idleness fall to pieces, they took care to make known to us by their messenger that, diligently enquiring into the slothfulness of the aforesaid Wenceslaus, whereby a crop of evils have been brought forth to the world, they had made ready, after setting him aside, to proceed to the election of another who might cope with those evils; and, although the deposition of the same Wenceslaus is acknowledged altogether to pertain

p. 79.

to us, yet, armed with our authority, they with one accord A.D. 1403. did proceed to the deposition of the same Wenceslaus, and did choose thee, our beloved son, duke of Bavaria, count-palatine and co-elect of the Rhine, to be king of the Romans and next emperor. And thou, after duly considering this matter, and urged by them and others, didst give thy free consent to such election. And afterwards, by a solemn embassy on thy behalf, it was humbly prayed of us that we, of our wonted kindness, would deem worthy to approve by apostolic authority the setting aside of the same Wenceslaus and thy election, and whatsoever followed thereon, and to decree and pronounce thy person to be fit and proper to undertake the aforesaid dignity of imperial exaltation. Therefore, being credibly informed of the aforesaid matters, and of thy person, as far as thine absence would allow, and of thy good manners and qualities and of the allegiance whereof thou art approved towards us and the Roman church, and having weighed carefully these things with our brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman church, listening to thy prayer, and with their consent, to the praise and glory of God, and the glory of the Virgin Mary and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and the honour of the said Roman church, and the good and profit of the holy empire, and the good estate of the world, difficulties and dangers being likely to arise from the carelessness of the said Wenceslaus, and holding as valid and according to our will his deposition and thy election, and whatsoever thereupon followed, we take thee as the chosen son of us and of the church, and, granting to thee grace and favour and considering thy person to be fitting, we pronounce and choose thee to be king of the Romans, declaring thee to be fit therefor, p. 80. and decreeing the anointment and consecration and the gift of the crown of the empire to be bestowed on thee by our own hands; making good every defect, which in any way in such election might be found, of our sure knowledge and

A.D. 1403. fulness of apostolic power. And we enjoin all faithful and liege men of the empire, of what estate soever they be, even though they be pre-eminent in kingly or priestly honours, that they most fully obey and look towards thee as king of the Romans and emperor elect. Let no man, therefore, etc. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the first day of October, in the fourteenth year of our pontificate."

The next year, on behalf of the crown of England claimed for the earl of March, as is said, a deadly quarrel arose between the king and the house of Percy of Northumberland, as kin to the same earl, to the great agitation of the land as it took part with one side or the other; and a field being pitched for the morrow of Saint Mary Magdalen (23rd July), the king, by advice of the earl of Dunbar of Scotland, because the father of the lord Henry Percy and Owen Glendower were then about to come against the king with a great host, anticipating the appointed day, brought on a hard-fought battle against the said lord Henry and the lord Thomas Percy, then earl of Worcester. And after there had fallen on either side in most bloody slaughter to the number of sixteen thousand men, in the field of Berwick (where the king afterwards founded a hospital for the good of the souls of the slain) two miles from Shrewsbury, on the eve of the said feast, victory declared for the king who had thus made the onslaught. In this fight the lord Percy, the flower and glory of the knighthood of Christendom, fell alas! and with him his uncle. Whereby is the prophecy fulfilled: "The grovelling beast shall bear away the two horns of the moon." There fell also two noble knights in the king's armour, each made conspicuous as though a second king, having been placed for the king's safety in the rear line of battle. Whereat the earl of Douglas of Scotland, then being in the field with the said lord Henry as his captive, when he heard p. 81. victory shouted for king Henry, cried in wonder: "Have I not slain two Henries (meaning the knights) with mine own

hand? 'Tis an evil hour for us that a third yet lives to be A.D. 1403.  
our victor."<sup>1</sup>

The circuits of full indulgence [at Rome], to lighten the heavy toil of visiting others, are confined to seven churches: to wit, St. John Lateran, St. Mary the greater, St. Cross of Jerusalem, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Lawrence without the walls, and SS. Fabian and Sebastian. Also, since it would be too much labour to visit all places of indulgence in the church of St. Peter, it sufficeth to visit within the circuit seven altars: to wit, the greater altar of St. Peter, wherein he lieth, as too St. Paul doth in the greater altar of his church, although their heads are in St. John Lateran, adorned with gold; also the altars of St. Cross, St. Veronica, St. Gregory, SS. Fabian and Sebastian, St. Leo pope, and St. Andrew.

Also, in the city there are four patriarchal churches: to wit, St. John Lateran, which is the mother of city and world, wherein also is the papal throne, and out of regard to which the pope is called Roman Pontiff, once the palace of the great Constantine, and by him given for this purpose to St. Silvester, but first built by Nero; the second, St. Mary the greater; the third and fourth, St. Peter's and St. Paul's; and in these churches all the cardinals, as canons thereof, receive their titles, and at their high altars no man doth celebrate save only the pope. Yet there are in the city many other churches, as in the line:

"In Rome are chapels, a thousand six hundred and five."

From one of my fellow auditors of the Rota, a native of Naples, I heard that in these days a certain ship of that city was taken by the Saracens, wherein was a lady of noble birth,

<sup>1</sup> "This battell lasted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crieng Saint George victorie brake the arraie of his enemies, and adventured so farre, that (as some write) the earle of Dowglas strake him downe, and at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the king's sute and clothing, saieng: I marvell to see so many kings thus suddenlie arise one in the necke of an other."—Holinshed, iij. 26.

A.D. 1403. who, choosing death rather than suffer violation, on a sudden cast herself into the sea and was drowned.

After the above-told battle between the king and the lord Henry Percy, Owen with his starvelings, issuing from his caves and woods and seizing his chance, marched through Wales with a great power as far as the sea of the Severn, and brought into subjection all who made resistance, and beyond the same  
p. 82. sea the lands where the Welsh, as such, had been pillaged by the people, with fire and sword, sparing not even churches, whereby at last he came to ruin. And then with a vast spoil he retired for safety to the northern parts of Wales, whence are spread all the ills of Wales, and to the mountains of Snowdon, amid smothered curses on his open adulteries.

The men of Bristol with an armed fleet, under their captains, James Clyfford and William Rye, esquires, invaded the parts of Glamorgan, and pillaged the church of Llandaff; but being beaten by the country people, by a miracle of St. Theliau, they were driven back in disorder with no small loss.

A.D. 1402. The prior of Launde and sir Roger Clarendon, knight, natural brother of king Richard, and eleven of the order of grey friars, doctors in theology, who were confederates of the said Owen,<sup>1</sup> being betrayed to the king by their own fellows, were drawn to Tyburn in London and hanged with great cruelty. And many lords and ladies, even countesses, were for that cause committed to prison.

A.D. 1403. The king, hoping to receive help through her, took to wife the widow of the duke of Brittany and sister of the king of Navarre.<sup>2</sup> But straight his hopes were rendered vain, for the Bretons, denouncing the marriage, along with the French and under command of the count marshal of Aquitaine and the lord of Huguevilles of Normandy, entered

<sup>1</sup> The charge against them was that of spreading the rumour that Richard was still living, and so attempting an insurrection against Henry.

<sup>2</sup> Henry's marriage with Joan, daughter of Charles of Navarre and widow of John Montfort, duke of Brittany, was celebrated in Feb. 1403.



Wales in great force to the succour and support of Owen; A.D. 1403. and wasting all the march with fire and sword they did no small hurt to the English.<sup>1</sup>

The king bestowed his two daughters in marriage, the A.D. 1402, one to the king of Denmark and the other to the son of the 1406. duke of Bavaria emperor elect as above, with no small taxation of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

The house of Percy, short time before its ill fate as told A.D. 1402 above, in battle at Homildon Hill, in the march of Scotland, slew many thousands of the Scots; and many nobles, amongst whom was the Douglas spoken of above, were carried off captives by the fortune of war. And it is believed that from this victory that house became too much puffed up, and, according to the common saying, "An haughty spirit p. 83. goeth before a fall,"<sup>3</sup> went headlong to its ruin. And no wonder; for it is not the saw which cutteth the log nor the axe which cleaveth, but the hand of man. So the hand of God gave the victory.

In these days the church of Hereford being vacant,<sup>4</sup> the A.D. 1404. pope made disposition thereof in favour of me the writer of this history, but through the envy of the English who opposed me and by letters belied me with poisonous words to the king, whereby I passed four years on sea and land in the miseries of exile, I got not advancement but rather abasement,

<sup>1</sup> The Bretons made a descent on the southern coast and burned Plymouth, in 1403. The following year they re-appeared near Portland and did some damage, but were beaten off with the loss of their leader (Walsingham, ij. 259, 261). Owen Glendower entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French on the 14th June, 1404. In consequence of this, an expedition of one hundred and forty sail, with 12,000 men, sailed from France to Wales, under command of Jean, sire de Rieux et Rochefort, marshal of France and Brittany (the count marshal of Aquitaine, of the text above), and Jean, sire de Hangest, lord of Avenescourt and Huguevilles, grand-master of the crossbows.

<sup>2</sup> Blanche, married to Louis of Bavaria, son of the emperor, in 1402; and Philippa, married to Eric of Denmark, in 1406.

<sup>3</sup> Prov. xvj. 18.

<sup>4</sup> By the death of John Trevenant, who was succeeded by Robert Mascall, 2nd July, 1404.

A.D. 1404. and suffered the last degree of poverty, stripped of benefices and goods, and, like Joseph, hearing among strangers a foreign tongue, albeit I was paid with gold for my counsel.

Meanwhile in England many parliaments were held, wherein both more stringent statutes were passed against papal provisions, and more than was wont the clergy and people were taxed with heavier levies. And no marvel; for they were pressed to hold their own in war against France, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Flanders, and owing to war they had lost sixty thousand pounds which Wales was accustomed to pay.

Owen and his mountaineers, even in their misery, at Machynlleth, usurping the right of conquest<sup>1</sup> and other marks of royalty, albeit to his own confusion, held, or counterfeited or made pretence of holding parliaments.

The earl of Northumberland, father of the above famous lord Henry, at the prayer and request of all the parliament, was shortly, though to no purpose, reconciled to the king. And in this parliament, a certain villein, Serle by name, was for the murder of the duke of Gloucester, of whom above, drawn, hanged, disembowelled, beheaded, and quartered.

On account of the slanders of mine enemies, I, the present writer, sent to the king, under mine own hand, the following letter, which was delivered to him by [Richard Metford] the bishop of Salisbury: "With most humble and devout recommendations and with continual prayers to God for your royal  
p. 84. majesty. Most excellent and most benign prince, whereas I, after leave had of your royal highness to visit the court of Rome, did so visit it, it did please our father and lord in Christ, Boniface, by the divine will pope, that now is, to place me, although unworthy, among the college of the lords auditors of his sacred palace. And I, trusting in Him who can make the rough places smooth and who alone can water with the spring of his grace the heart which is parched, and

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reads "duellorum," which is probably a blunder of the scribe.

hoping that He would make fruitful my short-comings with A.D. 1434.  
the dew of his loving-kindness, took that unpaid office, to the  
praise of God and that I might do more useful service to his  
exalted majesty and to his servants. And I now hold the same;  
and still for some time, if fortune favour me in the cost of my  
sojourn here, I, as best I can, by the help of divine favour,  
mean to continue it, offering myself with heart and soul to  
your royal wishes and commands, whereunto, according to  
the small measure of my insignificance, I am ready ever to be  
obedient; praying in most humble and devoted wise of your  
royal majesty, under the shadow of which I live and move—  
seeing that nothing is so pleasant to me as the safe estate, and  
happy progress, and glorious triumph thereof—that, with the  
kindly memory of royal gratitude how I grieved for your  
absence which was caused by the shafts of envy, as my lord  
your brother knoweth (to whom I foretold your prosperous  
return, just as it happened, and at which I rejoiced as a good  
fortune—as I hope hath not been hid from your royal good-  
ness—and wherein I as a sharer gave most loyally at mine own  
expense my service, poor as it was, till you had right worthily  
been exalted to the pinnacle of royal majesty), of your  
charity your majesty may please to let me enjoy an old age  
of obscurity with the relief of some better promotion. This  
offering of me your humble and faithful bedesman and  
willing servant may your majesty accept with your inborn  
benignity and gentleness, inclining not the ears of gratitude  
to those who speak evil of me, but in kindness deigning to  
foster me and mine and my friends under the shadow and  
protection of your exalted arm; for whom I pray triumph  
over enemies, and a long and happy reign here on earth, and  
hereafter may He grant you a place in the heavenly kingdom  
by whom all kings and princes are ruled. Written at Rome, p. 85.  
in the fifth year of your reign, on the twelfth day of the  
month of September.”

On the feast of St. Michael there came a solemn embassy  
on the part of the kings of France, Castille, and Aragon, and of

A.D. 1404. other princes who were obedient to him who sat at Avignon,<sup>1</sup> to pope Boniface, who gave them public audience. And the bishop of St. Pons,<sup>2</sup> in France, spake to him in these words, not acknowledging him as pope: "Most dread lord, if you for yourself do not feel pity for the souls of others, my lord doth offer himself as ready to lay down his life to find a way of union." Whereat lord Boniface burst forth: "Thy lord is false, schismatic, and very antichrist." "Saving your reverence, father, not so. My lord is holy, just, true, catholic, and sits upon the true seat of St. Peter;" and further, the same bishop cried out with heat: "Nor is he simoniac." Whereupon Boniface, astonished at these words, withdrew into his chamber, and within two days was cut off from this life. Concerning this matter, on the same night, I had two dreams. The first was that I beheld St. Peter robed in his bishop's vestments, sitting without his gate, and he cast forth to earth another who appeared as a pope, of sad countenance and foul, and who was sitting on his left hand. In the second, there appeared unto me a fox chased by dogs, which, taking the water, seized in his mouth a branch of willow which grew above, and lay covered to the nostrils; and, when he was again hunted out by the dogs, in terror he left the water, and, as a last refuge, ran into a hole, where forthwith he disappeared. Whence I understood that the fox, though ever greedy, yet ever remaineth thin; and so Boniface, though gorged with simony, yet to his dying day was never filled.

A certain German also showed me a letter sent from other parts by a holy man, wherein he declared that he had seen Saint Michael fell Boniface to the earth with a heavy buffet; and so, on his festival, it came to pass as above.

By the death of our lord the pope the safe conduct of the ambassadors became void; and so they were by the captain of the castle of Saint Angelo therein thrust as prisoners.

p. 86. For the election of a new pontiff of Rome the cardinals

<sup>1</sup> Benedict XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre de Rabat, Bishop of St. Pons de Tomieres, in the province of Narbonne, 1397—1409.

entered the conclave, which was entrusted to the safe keeping A.D. 1404. of the king of Naples and six thousand of his soldiers.

The baleful Roman people rose divided into the two parties of Guelphs and Ghibellines, and for the space of three weeks with slaughter and robbery and murder did they torment each other, either party seeking the creation of a pope on its own side; yet by reason of the said guard could they not come near to the palace of Saint Peter nor to the conclave. And so their partizanship caused the election, as pope, of one who was after the heart of neither side, namely Innocent the seventh, a native of Solmona. And, when his election was made known, the Romans attacked his palace, and, after their greedy fashion, nay rather from festering corruptness, they sacked it, leaving therein not so much as the bars of the windows.

The conclave is a close-built place, without anything to divide it, and is set apart to the cardinals for the election of the pope; and it must be shut and walled in on all sides, so that, excepting a small wicket for entrance, which is afterwards closed, it shall remain strongly guarded. And therein is a small window for food to be passed in to the cardinals, at their own cost, which is fitted so as to open or shut as required.

And the cardinals have each a small cell on different floors, for sleep and rest; and three rooms alone in common, the privy, the chapel, and the place of election. After the first three days, while they are there, they have but one dish of meat or fish daily, and after five days thence bread and wine only, until they agree.

Heavens! The glory of Cæsar and Augustus, of Solomon and Alexander, of Ahasuerus and Darius, and of the great Constantine—where is it now? And whither shall this glory vanish?

“Proud he wears the triple crown  
Whose vassals throng his foot to kiss;

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the custom of the times. At a later period a guard was set over the house of the pope elect.

A.D. 1404.

For king or kaiser's angry frown  
 Not a wight cares aught, I wis.  
 Christ his pardon freely gave,  
 Gave his grace without a price;  
 He, who here will favour have,  
 To mammon's god must sacrifice."

p. 87. Christ was meek, and his vicar a lowly fisherman. But Plato bids me be silent.

Such advancement of my lord Innocent I thus saw in a vision, how he went up from the sacristy of St. Peter's to the altar to celebrate mass, robed in the papal vestments of scarlet silk woven with gold.

The dead pope, after the proclamation of the election, was carried to the church of St. Peter for the funeral rites, which lasted for nine days.

A disgraceful treaty was made with the Romans by the new pope (and how soon was it broken!), that, the lordship of the city with the borough of St. Peter and the castle of Saint Angelo and yearly tribute of six thousand florins being reserved to him, as well as the appointment of the Senator, who, however, must be born a full hundred miles from Rome, the rest should remain at the will and behoof of the people.

The king of Naples, having received from the pope Campania and the sea coast for a yearly tribute for five years, which afterwards caused trouble to the church, departed with his army from Rome.

On the feast of St. Martin the new pope went down from the palace to the church of St. Peter for the ceremony of his coronation, and at the altar of St. Gregory, the auditors bringing the vestments, he was robed for the mass. And at the moment of his coming forth from the chapel of St. Gregory, the clerk of his chapel, bearing a long rod on the end of which was fixed some tow, cried aloud as he set it aflame: "Holy father, thus passeth the glory of the world;" and again, in the middle of the procession, with a louder voice, thus twice: "Holy father! Most holy father!" and a

third time, on arriving at the altar of St. Peter, thrice: A.D. 1404.

"Holy father! Holy father! Holy father!" at his loudest; and forthwith each time is the tow quenched. Just as in the coronation of the emperor, in the very noontide of his glory, stones of every kind and colour, worked with all the cunning of the craft, are wont to be presented to him by the stone-cutters, with these words: "Most excellent prince, of what kind of stone wilt thou that thy tomb be made?" Also, the new pope, the mass being ended, ascends a lofty stage, made for this purpose, and there he is solemnly crowned with the triple golden crown by the cardinal of Ostia as dean of the college. p. 88.

The first crown means power in temporal things; the second, fatherhood in things spiritual; the third, pre-eminence in things of heaven. And afterwards, still robed in the same white vestments, he, as well as all the prelates likewise in albs, rides thence through Rome to the Church of St. John Lateran, the cathedral seat of the pope. Then, after turning aside out of abhorrence of pope Joan, whose image with her son stands in stone in the direct road near St. Clement's, the pope, dismounting from his horse, enters the Lateran for his enthronement. And there he is seated in a chair of porphyry, which is pierced beneath for this purpose, that one of the younger cardinals may make proof of his sex; and then, while a "Te Deum" is chanted, he is borne to the high altar.<sup>1</sup>

On his way to the church, the Jews offered to him their law, that is the Old Testament, seeking his confirmation; and

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of the papal coronation will be found in the *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, par le Sieur J. A[imon] (1726,) and in *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses* (Amsterd. 1723). Interesting particulars of the coronation of Innocent VIII., in 1484, are given by Burchard (*Diarium*, Florent. 1854), which may be compared with the narrative in our text. Burchard himself, as chamberlain, performed the ceremony of lighting and extinguishing the tow. At a later time this simple emblem of the "gloria mundi" was changed for a more elaborate one, the fragments of tow giving place to miniature models of castles and palaces made of that material. Part of the ceremonies were, however, omitted in Innocent's coronation for the following reason. It appears that if the pope rode in

A.D. 1404. the pope took it gently in his hands, for by it we have come to the knowledge of the Son of God and to our faith, and thus answered: "Your law is good; but ye understand it not, for the old things have passed away, and all things are made new." And, as if for a reproach, since they being hardened in error understand it not, he delivers it back to them over his left shoulder, neither annulling nor confirming it.<sup>1</sup>

There rode with the pope not only those of his court and the clergy, but also the thirteen quæstors of the city with their captains and standards at their heads. During the progress, in order to ease the thronging of the people, small coin was

state up to the Lateran, the people claimed both horse and baldacchino. To resist this claim, and to avoid the rudeness of the crowd, Innocent dismounted near St. Clement's church and was thence carried in a chair. But this only made matters worse; for the pressure of the crowd was so great that his bearers, making a rush to carry him through, were swept right into the church, so that "pontificis receptio in ostio sive porticu Lateranendi et ejus locatio in sede stercoraria ac jactio pecuniarum fieri non potuerunt," and the procession reached the high altar in ludicrous confusion.

The ceremony of the "sedes stercoraria," with the meaning given to it in this and other chronicles, is discussed by the editor of Burchard's Diary (pp. 48 *et seqq.*), who quotes from various authorities to show that the name arose from the verse chanted by the cardinals, as they raised the pope from the chair in which he was seated within the portico of the church: "Suscitāt de pulvere egenum et de *stercore* erigit pauperem" (Ps. cxij. 7.); and that by an obvious confusion the chair became in the popular mind a "sedes probatoria."

For an account of pope Joan (whom our chronicler, curiously enough, calls Agnes), see Burchard's Diary, pp. 82, *et seqq.* Niem, who was contemporary with Adam of Usk, states in his *Historia sui temporis* that her image stood in the street between the church of St. Clement and the Coliseum.

<sup>1</sup> This curious custom is traced back to the twelfth century, when, on Innocent II. taking refuge in France and entering Paris, the Jews presented him with a copy of their law (*Cérémonies*, etc. I. pt. i. 81). Burchard (p. 47) says that in his time the ceremony took place at the Monte Giordano, but formerly near the castle of St. Angelo, from whence, however, the Jews were driven by the insults of the people. In later times (*Cérémonies*, etc., I. pt. ij. 59) the scene was removed to the Coliseum.



thrice cast among the crowd, and a passage was thus cleared A.D. 1404. while it was being gathered up.

Now I rejoice that I was present and served in that great solemnity, as also I did in the coronation of king Henry the fourth of England and in the confirmation of the empire spoken of above.

O God! How much is Rome to be pitied! For, once thronged with princes and their palaces, now a place of hovels, thieves, wolves, worms, full of desert places, how pitifully is she laid waste by her own citizens who rend each other in pieces! Thou, O Rome, didst draw thine origin from Æneas after the Trojan war, as my nation too p. 89. claims him as its ancestor; whence we stand on common ground in affliction. And truly it was first her empire which devoured the world with the sword, and next her priesthood with enchantment. Whence the lines:

“The Roman bites at all, and those he cannot bite he hates.

Of rich he hears the call, but 'gainst the poor he shuts his gates.”

And it was thus that a certain German spake who was pleading before me for a grant, but whose cause was sold by forestalling the date in the papal camera:

“Weep, pitiful Rome, for thy fame past recall;

‘No man shall sell!’ but Rome chaffers for all.

Thus shalt thou pass away, thus shalt thou fall.”

The church of London being vacant, the college of auditors with one accord went up and besought the pope to translate thither the lord Guy de Mona, bishop of St. David's, and to make provision of the church of St. David's to me, the writer of this history. Which thing was very pleasing to him, and he said: “We thank you heartily that you thus have recommended him to us; and we rejoice at so good an occasion of making provision for him of a better church in his own

A.D. 1404. country, for the church is one of dignity. And we knew his good estate, and also the same Guy de Mona at the time when we were collector in England." But the matter being noised about, my enemies with mighty clamour and speech declared against it to the king and cardinals who held benefices in England, threatening the latter that, if they should allow this thing, they would lose their benefices by the king's displeasure; and they swore that the king would send me to prison and the gallows. Moreover they forbade the merchants to lend me money, under pain of expelling their partners out of England. And this was the chief hindrance of the matter; and so it fell to the ground.

On Christmas day, I was present at the papal mass and the banquet, as also on other festivals, together with others my fellow auditors and officers. And, in the first mass, at the right horn of the altar was placed a sword adorned with  
 p. 90. gold, bearing on its upright point a cap with two labels like a bishop's mitre, for this purpose: that the emperor, if present, holding the naked sword, should read, as deacon, as having been anointed, the gospel: "There went out a decree from Cæsar," and should have the same sword from the pope for himself. But, owing to the absence of the emperor, a cardinal deacon read the gospel, and the pope delivered the sword to the count of Malepella (?), as being the most noble then present.<sup>1</sup> In the same mass, double gospel and epistle

<sup>1</sup> So also Burchardus (p. 81), under date of 1486, has the following:—"Feria secunda, 25 mensis Decembris, festum Nativitatis Domini Dei Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi, Papa processionaliter venit sub baldachino ad basilicam S. Petri, praelatis et Cardinalibus post crucem praecedentibus. Dominus Sinulphus clericus Camerae ad sinistram Crucis ensem cum pileo portavit super altare majus in cornu epistolae, ubi per totam missam mansit. Qua finita, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, sedens in sede solii, comiti Tondillae ante se genuflexo tradidit gladium cum capello, dicens sine libro: *Accipe gladium, et sis defensor fidei et Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, in nomine Patris, etc.*, quem ille accipiens osculatus est manum, deinde pedem Papae, et dedit eum uni ex suis militibus, qui eum continuo ante ipsum portavit." The *Table de la Cour de Rome* (p. 348) gives the following account of the origin of this ceremony: "Les Papes

are read, in Latin by two Latins, and in Greek by two Greeks, A.D. 1404. for their satisfaction, because they say that they were driven out of the church.

The pope created a noble Roman knight prior of the Hospital of St. John, his own marshal girding him with the sword; but the pope, after drawing the sword, only struck him with the hand on the forehead, saying: "Bear this blow for the commonwealth and faith of Christ." Then the new knight kisses the other knights standing round, and is robed by the pope's hand in the tunic of religion; and by the pope's order the gilt spurs are fastened on his heels by another knight.

Two monks from India, black and bearded, do reverence to the pope, and, in proof of their belief in Christ, they show the crosses which they bear upon their breasts, and their baptism on the right ear, not made with water but with fire, saying: "From the time when the sound of the apostles of Jesus Christ went out into all the earth, and specially from the time of St. Thomas, our apostle, although others have turned aside from the faith, never have we so turned aside, but we are true Christians." And they had a gracious hearing.<sup>1</sup>

fondent cet usage sur ce qu'on trouve dans le second livre de Machabées, au chapitre xv., où il est dit que Judas Machabée étant prêt à combattre Nicanor, général de l'armée d'Antiochus, Roi de Syrie, eût une vision en laquelle il lui sembloit voir le grand Prêtre Onias, quoique mort, qui prioit Dieu pour le peuple Juif, et le Prophete Jeremie qui presentoit au même Judas une épée dorée, en lui disant ces paroles : Reçois cette sainte épée que Dieu te donne et avec laquelle tu detruiras les adversaires de mon peuple Israël." The cap was usually sent to some prince or captain distinguished by his zeal for the church. Pius II. sent a sword and cap to Louis XI.

<sup>1</sup> These two "nigerrimi barbati" seem to have been Ethiopians. Marco Polo (ed. Yule, 2nd edit. 1875, ij. 421) in his account of Abash, or Abyssinia, thus refers to the custom of branding: "The Christians in this country bear three marks on the face; one from the forehead to the middle of the nose, and one on either cheek. These marks are made with a hot iron, and form part of their baptism; for, after that they are baptised with water, these three marks are made, partly as a token of gentility, and partly as the completion of their baptism. There are also Jews in the

A.D. 1404. I, the writer of this history, delivered to the pope the following petition: "Holy father, in the town or borough of Usk, in the diocese of Llandaff, is a certain most honourable monastery of a prioress and convent of nuns who serve God with the greatest devoutness, which was of old sufficiently endowed with possessions, rents, and other incomes; and in this monastery none but virgins of noble birth were and are wont to be received. But now, owing to the burnings, thefts, and other misfortunes which have been  
 p. 91. caused by the wars which raged in those parts, or otherwise, this same monastery hath come to such want that, unless ready help be forthwith found by your Holiness, the sisterhood will be forced to beg for food and clothing through the country, or to stay in the private houses of friends; whereby it is feared that scandals may in likelihood arise. And, seeing that within the walls of the same monastery there is built a certain chapel in honour of St. Radegund, virgin nun, once queen of France, whereunto the men of that country bear great reverence, and which they oftentimes, and specially at the feasts of Easter and Whitsuntide, are wont to visit; now therefore, prayeth your Holiness your faithful chaplain and auditor of causes of the sacred palace apostolic, who first

country, and these bear two marks, one on either cheek; and the Saracens have but one, to wit, on the forehead, extending half way down the nose." Colonel Yule, in his learned note upon the passage, refers to the early mention by Matthew Paris, under the year 1237, of the practice among the Jacobite Christians of branding their children on the foreheads before baptism. It appears also to have been the custom in Abyssinia and other parts of Africa to cauterize the temples of children, to inure them against colds. Ariosto, referring to the emperor of Ethiopia, has:

"Gli è, s'io non piglio errore, in questo loco  
 Ove al battesimo loro usano il fuoco."

Salt, the traveller, mentions that most of the people of Dixan had a cross branded on the breast, right arm, or forehead; which he explains as a mark of attachment to the ancient metropolitan church of Axum. And in Marino Sanudo it is stated that "some of the Jacobites and Syrians who had crosses branded on them said this was done for the destruction of the pagans, and out of reverence to the Holy Rood."

drew breath in the same town or borough, and of whose blood A.D. 1404. are some of the same sisterhood, that, having pity with fatherly compassion on that monastery and prioress and nuns, you will deign graciously to grant to all Christian people who, so often as, on the second days of the said festivals, for all time to come, they shall visit the same chapel, shall stretch forth the hand of help thereto, some indulgence, as your Holiness shall think fit, with necessary and proper clauses, as in form." And the pope signed it thus: "So be it, as is asked," for five years and as many Lents, as appeareth in the same chapel.

Near the palace of the hospital of Saint Peter I watched the habits of the wolves and dogs, often rising at night to this end. For, while the watch-dogs barked in the gateways of their masters' houses, the wolves carried off the smaller dogs from the midst of the larger ones, and although, when thus seized, the dogs, hoping to be defended by their larger companions, howled the more, yet the latter never stirred from their posts, though their barking waxed louder. And so I pondered on the same sort of league which we know doth exist in our parts between the great men of the country and the exiles of the woods.

The viper race of Lombardy, split up into Guelphs and Ghibellines, with plundering and fire and slaughter, p. 92. and even eating the flesh of the dead and dashing against rocks their own offspring if they took the opposite side, destroyed each other and certain of their cities at this time.

The Romans, about Quinquagesima Sunday, meet together for public games, with the captains of their different quarters, in a large well-equipped body; and, according to the words of Saint Paul: "They which run in a race run all,"<sup>1</sup> they strive manfully for the prize. They set up three silver rings, tied to a high rope, and, riding past them on their horses, they hurl spears, to carry them away as prizes. At these games are present the senator of the city, the two wardens,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 24.

A.D. 1404. and the seven regents, in state dress, the block and axe being borne before them for the punishment of the mutinous. In the same games, too, the Romans run riot like brute beasts in drunkenness (the feast of misery), with unbridled extravagance, like to the sons of Belial and Belphegor.

Then, on the same Sunday, at the cost of the Jews, four carts covered with scarlet cloth, in which are eight live boars, being placed on the top of the mountain of all the earth (which is so called because it is made of earth brought thither from all parts of the world in token of universal lordship) are yoked with eight wild bulls; and they being shaken open by the swift descent down hill and the beasts set free, the whole becomes the prey of the people. And then every man pell-mell rushes at the beasts with his weapon; and, if it so happen that any one brings not home to his wife some part of the spoil, he is accounted a poor spirit and a craven who shall not have her company till the feast of St. Pancras. And often in the scuffle they cut down or wound in particular the courtiers whom they hate for wrongs done to wives or daughters.

After this, they set upon the points of spears three cloths, one of gold for the best horse, and another of silver for the second best, and the third of silk for the swiftest mares; and whoever reaches them first in the races takes them as prizes.

p. 53. At length, after the onslaught on the beasts, some with shreds, others with the guts or filth on their sword-points, they depart in sorry procession home to their wives.

On the feast of the Purification, the pope blesses candles, and, seated on his throne, gives them out, not only to each there present, but also to all the catholic princes and princesses of the world, greater or smaller according to the differences of state and rank. They are made of white virgin wax. So too on Ash-Wednesday, in his own person, he distributes ashes to all present. And of all this I was witness; for I

received the candles for the king and queen of England, and A.D. 1404. I held the basin of cinders for the pope.

On my first coming to Rome, I heard of a certain prophet who gave himself out to be Elias, and that he was sent on earth by God the Father to beget His son Christ; and that he had spurned Christ with his foot as he bare the cross to his death; and he declared that that woman, who should be thought worthy to be gotten with child by him and to conceive the Christ, should be blessed for ever and ever and should have the true glory which was assigned to the false Mary. But, carrying on his rites and services in secret places and corners, he cunningly kept himself out of light. And so it came about that Roman ladies visited him with eagerness to lie with him, feeding him with all sorts of delicacies. But at last he was found out by the Romans, and dragged out of hiding, and carried away to the capitol; where, after confessing that he had dishonoured more than a hundred Roman ladies, wives, widows, and virgins, (and he had done the same at Venice,) he was burned.

On the (fourth) Sunday in mid-Lent, in which is chanted "Lætare Hierusalem," for relief of Lent now half-spent, the pope at mass bears in his hand a rose<sup>1</sup> of great price, cunningly wrought of gold and silver, and anointed with myrrh and balsam whereby it gives forth sweet perfume through all the church, and after mass he gives it to the most noble knight there present; who, with his friends then gathered together in his honour, afterwards rides forth on the same day in full state, bearing it in his hand.<sup>2</sup>

On behalf of the emperor of Constantinople, a solemn embassy came to the pope, declaring that they had been wrongfully bereft of the Roman empire, which was due to them as sprung from the person of the great Constantine, but which p. 94.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reads "rosarium."

<sup>2</sup> The rose is sent to a princess or a favourite church. The institution of the ceremony is attributed to Urban V., who sent a rose in 1366 to Joan, queen of Sicily.—*Cérémonies*, etc., ij. 15.

A.D. 1404. was wickedly usurped by the tyrant of Germany; and they prayed him that it be given back, with the kingdom of Naples and all Lombardy, or that otherwise a day and field be by him appointed to either side, in front of the city, to fight for this claim. The pope answered that because of their heresies and schisms, and mostly for that concerning the Holy Spirit, whom they affirm to proceed from the Father alone and not from the Son, and because they make not oral confession, and put leaven in the bread, therefore were they righteously bereft of that same empire. Moreover, he added with a smile: "It is not our practice to cause the shedding of Christian blood."

From these Greeks I learned that the princes of Greece were altogether sprung from the said Constantine and his three uncles, Trehern, Llëwellyn, and Meric, and from other thirty thousand Britons who were carried thither from Britain with him; and that such men of British race, in token of their blood and lordship, bear axes in their country, which others do not.<sup>1</sup> I learned further that their empire is almost worn out by the attacks of Turks and Tartars—just as the land of the Britons, the land of their origin, was laid waste by the Saxons.

On Palm Sunday, the pope has palms and branches blessed, and afterwards, as above said of the candles, he also dis-

<sup>1</sup> The Warangian guards are evidently here referred to. This body of men has been represented as formed from English, Celtic, or German recruits. "With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Warangians" (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. iv.). There was a great migration of Englishmen to the East after the Norman invasion, and "among the Englishmen who at various times during William's reign sought fresh homes in foreign lands, not a few made their way to the New Rome, and there, in the service of the Eastern Emperors, they not uncommonly had the satisfaction of meeting the kinsmen of their conquerors in open battle" (Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 627).



tributes the same, which are sent abroad at the cost of the A.D. 1404. Genoese; but, failing the palms, olive-branches are given, at least to those there present. But the pope himself bears aloft two palm-branches and two branches filled with dates, of a great weight, in support whereof two knights attend him.

On Holy Thursday, the pope mixes the oil and chrism, and after mass, outside the gate of St. Peter, with the greatest solemnity he goes up on a raised scaffold and blesses the people.



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- York, duke of : *See* Edmund of Langley.

# CORRIGENDA.

PAGE 128 line 26 *after* laws *add* at Oxford.

„ 154 „ 28 *for* South Wales *read* Nether Gwent.









